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No. 41

SURVIVAL OF THE PREHISTORIC CIVILISATION OF THE INDUS VALLEY

BY

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SURVIVAL OF THE PREHISTORIC CIVILISATION OF THE INDUS VALLEY

THE relics of the prehistoric period discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa leave no room for doubt that the Chalcolithic civilisation of the Indus Valley was something quite different from the Vedic civilisation. The question that now demands our attention is, what became of this great civilisation and what became of its authors when the Aryan immigrants who offered sacrifices to the Devas and cremated their dead occupied the land? Did the Aryan invaders sweep away the pre-Aryan civilisation of the Indus Valley like the Dorian invaders of Greece, or did they, like the earlier Aryan invaders of Greece, the Achæans, establish themselves as a powerful minority among the native populations, and the contact of the Aryan and the pre-Aryan cultures resulted in the birth of the mixed Hindu civilisation?

The dawn of history in the upper Indus Valley is heralded by the hymns of the Rigveda Saṁhitā. This work, recognised as the earliest Aryan literary monument, consists of 1028 hymns divided into ten books (*maṇḍalas*). Of these books six (ii-vi) are homogeneous in character, the hymns in each of them having been composed by Ṛishis (poets and priests) of the same family, and are therefore known as "family books." According to modern European Sankritists the "family books" formed the nucleus of the Rigveda; books i and viii were added next; book ix was formed by collecting all the Soma hymns from the other books; and book x was added as a supplement. In the following pages the period covered by the hymns in the "family books" is designated as the early Rigvedic period. The epoch when the different recensions of the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda, so far as they are independent of the Rigveda, and the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, the Śrautasūtras, the Nirukta of Yāska and the Bṛihaddevatā of Saunaka, were compiled, embracing the literary history of India from about 1000 to 500 B. C., is usually known as the later Vedic period.[1] The succeeding period saw the rise of Buddhism and Jainism.

1. Ārya and Dāsa

Thucydides says, "The country which is now called Hellas was not regularly settled in ancient times. Then people were migratory, and readily left

[1] For the detailed history of the Vedic literature see A. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1900; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, English translation, Calcutta, 1927, Section I; A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads*, Cambridge, Mass, 1925, Part I, Chapters 1-3.

their homes whenever they were overpowered by numbers." Modern historians of ancient India usually seem to proceed with the assumption that very similar must have been the condition of the upper Indus Valley in the early Rigvedic period when the Ārya (Aryan) immigrants were engaged in a ceaseless struggle with the non-Aryan aborigines (*Dāsa or Dasyu*) for the possession of the land. But as a matter of fact, the early hymns of the Rigveda reveal quite a different picture. The country was then not being overrun by migratory tribes, but was "regularly settled," and enjoying on the whole peace and prosperity. The hymns frequently refer to conflicts between the gods and the demons, also designated *Dāsas* and *Dasyus*, but much less frequently between men and men. Of these rare conflicts between men and men, again, perhaps as many are waged by the Āryas against the Dāsas, as are waged by the Āryas against other Āryas allied to the Dāsas.[1] The greatest feat of war known to the Rishis of the Rigveda is the *Dāśarājña* or king Sudas' "battle with the ten kings." This great battle is fully described in one hymn of book vii (18), and briefly referred to in two other hymns (33 and 83). This book (vii) of the Ṛigveda is one of the early "family books" attributed to Ṛishi Vasishṭha, and the hymns themselves contain evidence to show that they were mostly composed by poets belonging to his family. In Rigveda vii, 33, the birth of the Ṛishi Vasishṭha with Agastya is traced to a jar wherein fell the seed of the gods Mitra and Varuṇa at the sight of the Apsaras Urvaśī (vii, 33, 10-13). So this hymn must have been composed long after Vasishṭha lived, at a time when his descendants had come to believe in his miraculous birth from the seed of the gods. In hymn vii, 83, the battle with the ten kings is thus described :—

1. "Looking to you, O heroes, and your friendly aid,
They with broad sabres armed and battle-eager marched ;
Then ye two smote the Dāsa and the Aryan foes ;
Ye favoured, Indra-Varuṇa, Sudās with help.

7. "Ten kings allied, who worshipped not, did not prevail
Against Sudās in war, O Indra-Varuṇa."[2]

A detailed account of Sudās' great battle is given in the Rigveda vii. 18, in which Vasishṭha (in singular) is named as the author. The authors of the Vedic Index write, "But it is not necessary to deny that a real Vasishṭha existed, for one hymn (Rigveda vii. 18) seems to show clear traces of his authorship, and of assistance to Sudās against the ten kings." The way in which, among the descendants of Vasishṭha, Parāśara only is associated with him in this hymn (vii. 18. 21) instead of the Vasishṭhas (plural) as a whole, seems to indicate that it was composed when, in the life time of the Ṛishi, the Vasishṭha family consisted only of his own children. According to Yāska (*Nirukta*, vi. 30) Parāśara was a son of Vasishṭha born in his old age ; but epic tradition makes him a grandson through Vasishṭha's son Sakti. If Rigveda vii. 18 was composed by Vasishṭha himself, it must be recognised as one of the earliest

[1] Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. II, pp. 359-364 ; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, articles *Dasyu* and *Dasa* with references.

[2] A. A. Macdonell, *Hymns from the Rigveda* (Heritage of India Series), pp. 50-51.

of the early Rigvedic hymns. In this hymn, in the list of kings and tribes who were defeated by Sudās on the Parushṇī or Ravi, we have very nearly a complete list of the warrior tribes that held sway in the upper Indus Valley and its neighbourhood. Two of the ten kings only, Bheda and Kavasha, are mentioned by name; two others are mentioned by their patronymic as Vaikarṇas (sons of Vikarṇa); six other kings, Śiṁyu, Yakshu, Turvaśa, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru are referred to by the names of their respective tribes in singular number. The tribes and clans who were associated with these ten kings were the Matsyas, the Bhṛigus, the Druhyus, the Pakthas, the Bhalānas, the Alinas, the Śivas, and the twenty-one clans who obeyed the two sons of Vikarṇa.[1] Other tribes mentioned in the same hymn are the Ajas and Śigrus who probably dwelt on the Yamunā and offered heads of their horses as tribute to Indra (vii. 18. 19). Only one important Vedic tribe, the Yadus, are not included among the opponents of Sudās, and among the less important omissions are the Chedis, the Kṛivis and the Ruśamas. Some of the epithets applied to the enemies of Sudās show us how cautious one should be in attaching ethnological significance to the language of the Rigveda. In vii. 18. 16 the enemies of Sudās are called *aniṁdra*, 'Indra-less,' who rejected Indra. As we have seen above, in vii. 83. 7 a similar charge is brought against all the ten kings and their allies who are called 'non-worshipping' or 'non-sacrificing' (*ayajyavaḥ*). These epithets cannot be reconciled to the association of a priestly family, the Bhṛigus, and the inclusion of Turvaśa, Anu and Pūru among the opponents of Sudās. In a hymn of another "family book" (vi. 20. 12), Turvaśa and Yadu are named as the two favourites of Indra whom that god safely brought across the sea. Rigveda vi. 45. 1 gives a different version of the same legend. In a hymn of book viii by a poet of the Kaṇva family it is said that Indra is chiefly with Ānava (king of the Anus) and Turvaśa (viii. 4. 1). After the Bharata-Tṛitsus and their kings Divodāsa and Sudās, the Pūrus and their kings Purukutsa and Trasadasyu are the most favoured of Indra and of other gods among mortals outside the Ṛishi clans. The dark-skinned folk (*viśaḥ asiknīḥ*) fled away abandoning their riches when Agni rent their *puras* (cities or castles) for the sake of the Pūru king (vii. 5. 3). Indra helped Sudās and Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, the Pūru king, in battle in winning land (vii. 19. 3). Both these stanzas, belonging to book vii, were composed by poets of the Vasishṭha family, if not by Vasishṭha himself. In Rigveda vi. 20. 10 a Ṛishi of the Bharadvāja family says that the Pūrus with this sacrifice praise Indra who gave riches to Purukutsa after slaughtering the Dāsas and destroying their seven autumnal castles. Therefore the terms "Indra-less" (*aniṁdra*) and "non-sacrificing" (*ayajya*), when used of any class of men in the hymns of the Rigveda, do not necessarily imply that they were really so. The indiscriminate use of such epithets as meaningless terms of abuse and the espousing of opposite sides by two great Ṛishi families, the Vasisṭhas and the Bhṛigus, in a serious combat like Sudās' battle with the ten kings, indicate that in the early

[1] E. W. Hopkins, "Problematic passages in the Rigveda," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 15, pp. 259–265.

Rigvedic period the war of conquest carried on by a homogeneous body of Indra-worshipping Aryan invaders against Indra-less aborigines was a thing of the forgotten past.

Other references to Indra's (*i.e.*, Indra-worshipper's) war with Ārya enemies in the earlier books of the Rigveda are no less significant and is reproduced in Muir's translation[1] :—

"Thou, O Indra, hast speedily slain these two Āryas, Arṇa and Chitraratha, on the opposite bank of the Sarayu." (iv. 30. 18).

"Do thou heroic Indra, destroy both these our foes, (our,) Dāsa and our Ārya enemies." (vi. 33. 3).

"Do ye, O lords of the heroic, slay our Ārya enemies, slay our Dāsa enemies, destroy all those who hate us." (vi. 60. 6).

Kutsa is a hero celebrated in the early hymns of the Rigveda who plays the double role of the friend as well as the enemy of Indra. He was associated with Indra in overthrowing the demon Śushṇa. He defeated Smadibha, Tugra and the Vetasus with the help of Indra, but Indra helped Tūrvayāna to defeat him with Āyu and Atithigva. Keith observes, "It seems most probable that Kusta is a real enough prince."[2] But even if Kusta is recognised as a mythical hero, such a career could hardly have been imagined in an age when Indra-worshipping Aryan invaders were engaged in subduing or exterminating non-Aryan aborigines.

The early hymns of the Rigveda were composed in an age when not only hostile warrior clans, but even a Ṛishi like Vasishṭha, could be freely accused of worshipping false gods (*anṛitadevaḥ*) or of approaching the gods in vain, and even suspected of being a Yātudhāna, 'demon' (vii. 104. 14-15). When the Ṛishis condemn even the Dāsas or Dasyus as 'godless,' 'riteless,' etc., they do so more as disappointed priests who have not been paid *dakshiṇā* or sacrificial fee than as the missionaries of a higher religion. Thus in Rigveda V. 7. 10 it is prayed, "O Agni, may then Atri overcome the Dasyus who do not give; may Isha overcome the men (who do not give)."

Not only were the Indra-worshipping kings and warrior clans often at war among themselves in the early Rigvedic period, feud between Ṛishis and Ṛishis out of rivalry for winning royal patrons was not uncommon. Rigveda iii. 53 refers to a quarrel between Viśvāmitra and the Jamadagnis (descendants of Bhṛigu) on the one hand, and an unnamed Ṛishi on the other. I shall reproduce the relevant stanzas of the hymn in Muir's translation (with slight changes) :—

9. "The great Ṛishi, god-born, god-impelled, leader of men, stayed the watery current; when Viśvāmitra conducted Sudās, Indra was propitiated through the Kuśikas.

11. "Approach, ye Kuśikas, be alert; let loose the horse of Sudās to (conquer) riches; let the king smite strongly his enemy in the east, the west and the north; and then let him sacrifice on the most excellent (spot) of the earth.

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[1] Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. II,[2] p. 361.

[2] Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

15. "Sasarparī, removing poverty, brought by the Jamadagnis, has mightly uttered her voice; this daughter of the sun has conveyed (our) renown, eternal and undecaying, (even) to the gods.

16. "Sasarparī has speedily brought down (our) renown from them to five classes of men (*pāṁchajanyāsu kṛishṭishu*); this winged goddess whom the aged Jamadagnis (*Jamadagnayaḥ*) brought to us, has conferred on us new life.

21. "Prosper us to-day, O opulent Indra, by numerous and most excellent succours. May he who hates us fall down low; and may breath abandon him whom we hate."

As Viśvāmitra is called "god-born," (*devajaḥ*) in stanza 9, this hymn could not have been composed by the first Viśvāmitra who calls himself the "son of Kuśika" in iii. 33. 5, but by one of his descendants. Stanza 9 evidently refers to the incident which is the theme of the Rigveda iii. 33 wherein Viśvāmitra induces the rivers Vipāś (Beas) and Śutudrī (Sutlej) to stop their flood and become fordable for the Bharatas. The same stanza (9) also shows that Viśvāmitra was then accompanied by Sudās, king of the Bharatas (Bṛihaddevatā, iv. 106). In stanza 11 there is a clear reference to the horse sacrifice of Sudās in which the Kuśikas took part as sacrificial priests and in stanzas 15 and 16 it is said that from the Jamadagnis Viśvāmitra received the Sasarparī speech which could give new life or increase the span of life (*navyaṁ āyuḥ*). Viśvāmitra could not have required a fresh term of life through Sasarparī unless his usual term of life was not in danger of suddenly coming to an end. In Stanza 21 there is a fearful curse, "May breath abandon him whom we hate." Taken together these statements indicate that an unnamed Ṛishi who was a greater sorceror than Viśvāmitra nearly put an end to his life; but Viśvāmitra was brought back to life by the Jamadagnis with the help of Sasarparī and then uttered a curse against his opponent. Sasarparī is explained by Sayana as the goddess of Speech who moves everywhere. The story alluded to in this hymn is thus told by the author of the Bṛihaddevatā, iv. 112-120 :—

"At a great sacrifice of Sūdas, by Sakti Gāthi's son (Viśvāmitra) was forcibly deprived of consciousness. He sank down unconscious. But to him the Jamadagnis gave Speech called Sasarparī daughter of Brahmā or of the Sun, having brought her from the dwelling of the Sun. Then that Speech dispelled the Kuśikas' loss of intelligence (*a-matim*). And in the (stanza) 'Hither' (*upa*: iii. 53. 11) Viśvāmitra restores the Kuśikas to consciousness (*anubodhayat*). And gladdened at heart by receiving Speech he paid homage to the seers (the Jamadagnis), himself praising Speech with the two stanzas 'Sasarparī.' (With the stanzas) 'Strong' (iii. 53. 17-20) (he praised) the parts of the cart and the oxen, as he started home. And then going home he deposited (them there) in person. But the four stanzas which follow (iii. 53. 21-24) are traditionally held to be hostile to the Vasishṭhas. They were pronounced by Viśvāmitra; they are traditionally held to be imprecations (*abhiśāpa*). They are pronounced to be hostile to enemies and magical (*abhichārika*) incantations. The Vasishṭhas will not listen to them. This is the unanimous opinion of their authorities; great guilt arises from repeating or listening (to them). By

repeating or hearing (them) one's head is broken into a hundred fragments; the children of those (who do so) perish: therefore one should not repeat them."[1]

Though the name of Śakti, son of Vasishṭha, is not mentioned in the hymn, the presence of the Vasishthas as the third group of sacrificial priests besides the Viśvāmitras and the Jamadagnis in Sudās' horse sacrifice is not incredible. According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* vii. 16, in Hariśchandra's Rājasūya ceremony Viśvāmitra was the Hotṛi (reciter), Jamadagni the Adhvaryu (performer), Vasishṭha the Brahman (supervisor) and Ayasya the Udgātṛi (chanter). The Jamadagnis were the main branch of the Bhṛigus and, as we have already seen, in Sudās' battle with the ten kings Vasishṭha and the Bhṛigus are found in opposite camps. The strife between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra is not clearly referred to in any part of the Rigveda. The Vasishṭha book (vii) shows Vasishṭha as the priest of king Sudās, but never associated with Visvāmitra or the Jamadagnis; the Visvāmitra book (iii) shows Visvāmitra as the priest of the same king associated with the Jamadagnis (compare Rigveda x. 167. 4) instead of Vasishṭha. Therefore it is evident that the patronage of Sudās did not promote co-operation and good feelings between the two great Ṛishis, and want of co-operation between the two competitors must inevitably have led to strife. It is usually held that Viśvāmitra, who was the priest of Sudās at the outset, was later on deposed by Vasishṭha, but recovered his position after the death of that king. This led to the feud between the Saudāsas (sons of Sudās) and the Vasishṭhas.[2] But to me the case seems to be quite the reverse of it. Vasishṭha was the priest of Sudās when he defeated the ten kings and thereby gained supremacy in the upper Indus Valley. This victory enabled Sudās to undertake the horse sacrifice. In this sacrifice which requires a large number of priests Viśvāmitra evidently was given the lead. This was resented by Vasishṭha's son, Śakti, who tried to kill Viśvāmitra by incantations. Viśvāmitra and the other Kuśikas were revived by a counter charm of the Jamadagnis. This led to feud between the Saudāsas (sons of Sudās) and Vasishṭha. The Taittiriya Saṁhitā of the Black Yajurveda and some of the Brāhmaṇa texts contain references to this feud. In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā iii. 1. 7 it is said, "Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni had a quarrel with Vasishṭha. Jamadagni saw this Vihavya (hymn) (Rigveda x. 128), and by means of it he appropriated the power and strength of Vasishṭha. In that the Vihavya is recited, the sacrificer appropriates the power and the strength of his enemy."[3] In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā v. 4. 12. 3 the same legend is narrated to connect the laying of the Vihavya bricks of the fire alter to Jamadagni. These Vihavya legends bear considerable resemblance to the legend of the Sasarparī Speech, and all seem to have a common traditional basis. Another group of later Vedic legends are fastened on the story of the murder

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[1] English translation by A. A. Macdonell, *The Brihaddevata of Saunaka*, Cambridge, Mass., 1904, Part II (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. VI), pp. 156-159.

[2] *Vedic Index*, articles "Vasishtha" and "Visvamitra."

[3] Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School entitled Taittiriya Samhita*, Cambridge, Mass., 1914, (Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 18 and 19), p. 230.

of Vasishṭha's son or sons by the Saudāsas (sons of Sudās). In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā vii. 4. 7. 1 it is said :—

"Vasishṭha, his sons slain, desired, may I win the offspring, and defeat the Saudāsas. He saw this (rite) of forty-nine nights ; he grasped it and sacrificed with it. Then indeed did he win offspring and defeated the Saudāsas. Those, who knowing thus perform (the rite) of forty-nine nights, win offspring and defeat their enemies."[1]

The story is repeated in the Kaushitakī Brāhmaṇa iv. 8 in connection with the Vasishṭha sacrifice. According to the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa ii. 390 the Saudāsas killed Sakti, son of Vasishṭha, by casting him into the fire.[2] When the object of the author of the Brāhmaṇa is to father on Vasishṭha Sāman stanzas the chanting of which is rewarded by offspring and cattle, the murder of his son only is referred to, but the Saudāsas are not connected with it (*Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* or *Tāndya Mahābrāhmaṇa*, iv. 7. 3 ; viii. 2. 4 ; xix. 3. 8 ; xxi. 11. 2). Traditions like Vasishṭha's quarrel with Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni and the sons of Sudās that are preserved in the later Vedic literature in so incidental a manner cannot be rejected as historically baseless.

All these texts and some other stanzas from the hymns of the Rigveda which read like contemporaneous compositions reveal that in the initial stage of the Rigvedic period when Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra lived, the events that really disturbed the peace of the upper Indus valley were not conflicts between the Aryan immigrants and non-Aryan aborigines, but wars that were occasionally waged by the ambitious Indra-worshipping kings among themselves, and the quarrels that broke out between the rival Ṛishi clans. It may not be possible for all to persuade themselves to recognise in the hymns of books iii and vii of the Rigveda cited above accurate statements of facts, but they certainly preserve for us traditional accounts of the sort of events that must have happened in that remote age, and therefore their testimony is not negligible. The age to which these early hymns of the Rigveda carry was not an age of migrations, but an epoch when the Ārya and the Dāsa had already been reconciled to each other and the original opposition to the Aryan war-god Indra had been transreplaced by philosophic doubt about his existence. In a famous hymn of the Rigveda (ii. 12) in which it is said of Indra,—

"Who humbled and dispersed the Dāsa colour (*varṇa*),"

occur also these stanzas :—

5. "Of whom, the terrible, they ask, 'Where is he ?'
Of him, indeed, they also say, 'He is not.'
The foeman's wealth, like players' stakes, he lessens.
Believe in him : for he, O men, is Indra.
8. Whom two contending armies vie in calling,
On both sides foes, the farther and the nearer.
Two fighters mounted on the self-same chariot
Invoke him variously : he, men, is Indra."

(Macdonell).

[1] Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 606.

[2] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 18, p. 47.

The epoch of Aryan invasion of the Indus Valley was not a time when any Ṛishi could maketime to sing this vindication of Indra and when two armies that vied with each other in invoking the aid of Indra could afford to fight with each other. The Indo-European, and particularly the old Persian, affinities of the Vedic Sanskrit, and the close relationship of the religion of the Rigveda with the Avestic and the Mitannian religions, have rightly been taken to indicate that the ancestors of the authors of the Indo-Aryan, Iranian, and Mitannian cultures must have had at one time a common home from where they migrated to Syria, Persia and India. The philologists are also practically unanimous in holding that this Aryan fatherland must be sought outside India somewhere towards the west. But the mutual relations of the different sections of the population of the upper Indus Valley in the early Rigvedic period as revealed in the hymns of the "family books" of the Rigveda indicate that the racial animus that once divided the immigrant and the indigenous population of the country was then a thing of the long-forgotten past. The descendants, both of the immigrants and the natives, were reconciled and assimilated as inhabitants of a common motherland, and the wars and feuds known to the poets of the Rigveda were wars and feuds that are inevitable among the different states and classes of the population of a regularly settled country that is free from the fear of foreign invasion. The words Dāsa and Dasyu in the Rigveda denote human enemies as well as atmospheric demons. So it is not always possible to determine where the terms denote human and where non-human beings. The dictum of the authors of the *Vedic Index* that it may be regarded as certain that by Dāsa and Dasyu human foes, probably the aborigines, are designated "in those passages where the Dasyu is opposed to the Aryan," is untenable, for the atmospheric Dāsas and Dasyus were also treated as enemies of the Aryans, and in the passages in question such enemies may as well be meant. The Dāsa or Dasyu may be taken to denote human being with certainty in those passages only wherein he is found to fight side by side with the Ārya against a common foe.

2. Priest and King

The misconceptions regarding the mutual relations of the Ārya and the Dāsa in the upper Indus Valley in the early Rigvedic period has led to an erroneous theory of the origin of caste. The generally accepted opinion of the European Sanskritists relating to the origin of caste in Vedic India is thus summed up by the authors of the Vedic Index :—

"The ultimate cause of the extreme rigidity of the caste system, as compared with the features of any other Aryan society, must probably be sought in the sharp distinction drawn from the beginning between the Aryan and the Śūdra. The contrast which the Vedic Indians felt as existing between themselves and the conquered population, and which probably rested originally on the difference of colour between the upper and the lower classes, tended to accentuate the natural distinctions of birth, occupation and locality which nor-

mally existed among the Aryan Indians, but which among other Aryan peoples never developed into a caste system like that of India."[1]

There is perhaps no other way of explaining the unique feature of caste, its extreme rigidity, than the assumption that there must have been a sharp distinction somewhere from the very beginning. It is usually assumed that this distinction was rooted in the ethnic difference between the Ārya and the Śūdra who represented the Dāsa or Dasyu of the early hymns of the Rigveda. But this hypothesis is not sufficient to explain how the rigid distinction between Ārya and Śūdra born of ethnic difference permeated the presumably homogenous Aryan immigrants and divided them into Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaiśya castes. The contrast that the Vedic Indians once felt as existing between themselves and the conquered populations must have been felt more or less strongly in recent times by the white Aryan settlers in America, Africa, Polynesia, Melanesia and Australia. But nowhere, neither among the Teutonic, nor among the Latin settlers, has the sharp ethnic difference between the aborigines and the immigrants tended to accentuate the natural distinction of birth, occupations and locality dividing the social classes among the latter to the extent of creating the rigidity of caste. If the like cause has not produced the like effect among the Aryans outside India, it cannot be safely assumed that it did so in India. But there are facts, usually ignored in all speculations relating to the origin of caste, which, when rightly interpreted, clearly indicate the ultimate cause of the rigidity of caste.

The names of the four varṇas (castes), Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, first occur side by side in a late hymn of the Rigveda, the Purushasūkta (x. 90, 12). The terms Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya occur, though very rarely, in the other parts of the Rigveda, but the terms Vaiśya and Śūdra do not occur at all. Though these names, therefore, might have become current only in the late Rigvedic period, the institution of caste could not have sprung up in a day or even in a generation. The authors of the Vedic Index admit: "There are traces in the Rigveda of the threefold or fourfold division of the people into *brahma*, *kshatra* and *viśaḥ*, or into the three classes and the servile population."[2] But a more important distinction than the threefold or fourfold division of the people is the distinction between the King and the Priest. We have seen above that from the very beginning the king had attached to him a member of one or other of the Ṛishi families as his priest who invoked and offered sacrifices to Indra and other gods for him. Winternitz writes, "As in later times, so indeed already in the Rigveda it was the custom that at the king's side there stood a house priest (Purohita) who offered the sacrifices for him."[3]

This separation of the functions of the priest and the king from the very beginning is unknown among other civilized peoples of the ancient world and is therefore abnormal. Among the Sumerians the head of the city-state, the *issakku* or "tenant farmer," by virtue of his position "was a priest and his

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[1] *Vedic Index*, II, p. 267.
[2] *Vedic Index*, II, p. 251.
[3] Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

tenure of the lease was in theory renewed yearly at the festival of the city-god, at which he was the principal celebrant. But priesthood did not entail a complete absorption in temple duties."[1] In Babylonia the prince was the high priest of the town's god, the king, the high priest of the national god.[2] In Assyria the king had to officiate as priest himself, and that as much on his return from the chase as in most solemn ceremonies of the cult.[3] Very similar was the case in Egypt at the beginning. The royal family personally took part in the Osirian rites; but after the very early date specialists and professional priests of the funeral cult became indispensable when the ritual was established in writing, in all its minute, complicated details.[4] In Crete Minos was above all the priest-king. In Greece the head of the state controlled the national worship in virtue of his position. This is true of the pre-Hellenic period when the city-states grew up round citadels crowned with a combined palace and temple.[5] Under the old monarchy the king of Rome was also the high-priest of his people. The rise of the Republic produced change in the form but not in the basic principle of the constitution of the Roman priesthood.[6]

Now to turn to the Aryan folk who are culturally nearest to the Vedic Ārya, the history of the Iranian priesthood called *Athravans* before Zarathushtra is involved in obscurity. Zarathushtra himself is priest (*Zaotar-hotṛi*), warrior, and agriculturist according to the Avesta. So it may be inferred that before his time the functions of the king and the priest had not been completely separated in Eastern Iran, the scene of his missionary activities.[7] But according to classical writers beginning with Herodotus the sacerdotal office in western Iran, in Persia and Media, was held by a tribe of Medes called Magi (Old Pers. *Magu*, Latin *Magus*). The Persian Magi and the Hebrew Levites are the only priesthoods that, like the Brahman priesthood of India, maintained a separate existence throughout, and the history of the former (Magi) throws considerable light on the beginning of Brahman priesthood by way of analogy. The Persians represent an earlier wave of Aryan migration to Elam (Anshan) and Fars of which Susa was the ancient capital, and the Magi a later wave. The Magi were one of the six tribes of the Medes who in their mountain home in Media had preserved through centuries a whole mass of very ancient traditions and beliefs dating from the prehistoric period when the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians had not separated. Though the Aryan king of Anshan was nominally a vassal of the king of Media before the rise of Cyrus the Great (548-529 B. C.), in their new home the Persis (Persians) including the Achæmenids came under the influence of the superior pre-Aryan Elamite culture which had also absorbed some elements of the Semitic Babylonian culture. So when the Persis first met the Magi in Persia, the culture of the former had considerably

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[1] Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria to 1000 B. C.*, London, 1928, p. 45.
[2] L. Delaporte, *Mesopotamia. The Babylonian and Assyrian Civilization*, English translation, London, 1925, p. 149.
[3] Delaporte, *op. cit.*, p. 310.
[4] A. Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, London, 1927, p. 169.
[5] *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. II, Cambridge, 1924, p. 626.
[6] Albert Grenier, *The Roman Spirit*, London, 1926, p. 101.
[7] *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. X, pp. 319-320.

diverged from the original Iranian culture, though both the peoples spoke the same language. The image of Ahura Mazda within a winged disc carved in Achæmenid bas-reliefs is copied from the Assyrian model. According to Herodotus the Persians coated the dead body with wax and buried in the ground. The Achæmenid kings caused their tombs to be dug on the mountain sides. The Magi, on the other hand, buried bodies after they had been torn by a bird or a dog. The bas-relief on the tomb of Darius shows the king adoring a fire on a stone altar in the open and the image of Ahuramazda hovering above all. But the Persians of the Achæmenid period employed the Magi in offering sacrifices.[1] In his account of the Magi Ammianus Marcellinus says "that the Magi tribe was at first a small one, and that the Persians, who were politically in the ascendancy, availed themselves of their services for the conduct of public worship. Gradually they increased in number and founded an exclusive class with a special area for their dwelling-place and a proper constitution."[2] When Alexander the Great visited the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, he found there a permanent guard of Magi who received a sheep daily and a horse every month.[3] In the Parthian period a local dynasty of priest-kings known through their coins flourished in Persia or Fars. "On the reverse of the coins, the king stands, bow in hand, before the fire-altar as in the reliefs of Naqsh-i-Rustam; beside the altar the national standard is set up, the banner of the smith Kava, the Dirafsh-i-Kaviyani, which was afterwards, at the end of the reign of the Sessanids, taken and destroyed by the Arabs at the battle of Qadisiyah. Ahura Mazda hovers above."[4] One of the early kings of this dynasty, Bagakert, reigned about 220 B. C. and the last of them about 220 A. D. As these priest-kings preserved the traditions of the Magi of the Achæmenid period, it may be presumed that they themselves belonged to the Magi tribe and could, therefore, assume the double functions. In A. D. 224 Ardashir, the Sassanid, overthrew the Parthian empire and made the religion of Avesta, or the old Mazdaism reformed by Zarathustra, and elaborated by the colleges of the Magi, the state religion. The priesthood of this religion were recruited among the Median tribe of the Magi and came to be known as the Mobeds or chiefs of the Magi.[5] Though the high-priest was nominated by the king, he had to confine his choice to the Mobeds, as king Sudās, in the early Rigvedic period, had to confine his choice of Purohita to the Vasishṭhas, the Kuśikas, the Jamadagnis or other Ṛishi clans. Though the early history of the Persian priesthood is involved in considerable obscurity, the position of the Magi in the Achæmenid and of the Mobeds in the Sassanian period indicates that the establishment of a hereditary priesthood in Persia is evidently due to the circumstance that the king and people of Persia adopted a form of ritual practice which was either originally not their own or had ceased to be so and which had been zealously

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[1] Clement Huart, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization*, London, 1927, pp. 84-85.
[2] *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. X, p. 321.
[3] Huart, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
[4] Huart, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
[5] Huart, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

guarded as the heritage of the Median tribe of the Magi. Very probably the like cause,—the adoption of the religion of the culturally alien Ṛishis by the chiefs of the ruling clans of the Indus Valley, produced the like result,—the establishment of a sacerdotal caste in India. The greater rigidity in the distinction between the Brahman priesthood and the non-Brahman laity than between the Parsi priesthood and the Parsi laity should probably be attributed to the wider gulf that originally separated the cultures of the proto-Brahmans and the proto-Kshatriyas than that existed between the culture of the Persians on the one hand and that of the Magi on the other, when the two first met in Persia.

The later Vedic literature, particularly the Brāhmaṇa texts, preserve legends which show that a Kshatriya could not officiate as a sacrificial priest as a Kshatriya, but was required to become a Brahman as a preliminary step. In the Pañchaviṁsa Brāhmaṇa (xxi. 12, 2) it is said, "The Jahṇus and the Vṛichivants were engaged in a conflict for dominion. Viśvāmitra, a descendant of Jahṇu and a Rājā, saw this rite (known as Viśvāmitra's victory); he obtained the kingdom; others got no kingdom." In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vii, 17 (Sāṁkhyāyana-śrauta-sūtra, xv, 25) Viśvāmitra is addressed as, 'son of king, (*rājaputra*) and 'bull of the Bharatas' (*Bharatarshabha*) by Śunaḥśepa, and Viśvāmitra in turn confers on Śunaḥśepa-Devarāta, his adopted son, the lordship of the Jahṇus and the sacred lore (*daiva veda*) of the Gāthinas. Commenting on Rigveda, iii, 33, 5, Yāska in his Nirukta (ii, 25) calls Kuśika, the father of Viśvāmitra, a king. In the Bṛihaddevatā (iv. 95) it is said, "The son of Gāthi (Viśvāmitra) who, after ruling the earth, attained by penance the position of a Brahman seer (*brahmarshi*) and obtained a hundred and one sons." Kavasha Ailusha, the child of a slave woman (Śūdrā), is said to have got himself admitted to the Brahman community by composing a hymn addressed to Sarasvatī. His story is thus narrated in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (ii, 19):—

"The Ṛishis performed a sacrificial session on the Sarasvatī; they drove away Kavasha Ailusha from the Soma, 'The child of a slave woman, a cheat, no Brahman; how has he been consecrated in our midst?' They sent him out to the desert, (saying) 'There let thirst slay him; let him drink not the water of the Sarasvatī.' Sent away to the wilderness, afflicted by thirst, he saw the 'child of waters' hymn (Rigveda x. 30). 'Forth among the gods let there be speeding for the Brahman.' Thereby he went to the dear abode of the waters; him the waters welled out after; all around him Sarasvatī hastened. Therefore they call it here Parisāraka, in that Sarasvatī went all around him. The seers said, 'The gods know him; let us summon him.' 'Be it so,' (they replied). They summoned him."[1]

The story is also repeated in the Kaushítaki Brāhmaṇa, xii, 3. In a *Sattra* or sacrificial session the *yajamāna* or the sacrificer has also to be consecrated as a Ṛitvij, 'officiating priest,' and so only a Brahman can perform a Sattra. Kavasha Ailusha was allowed to join the Sattra and thereby admitted

[1] English translation by Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, (Harvard Oriental Series, 25), Cambridge, Mass., 1920, p. 418i

to the Brahman caste, because he could compose a hymn that pleased the goddess Sarasvatī. It is stated in Yāska's Nirukta (ii, 10) that Devāpi Ārshṭishena, who, according to the Rigveda x, 98, acted as the priest of king Śāntanu, and Śāntanu himself, were brothers and belonged to the Kshatriya Kuru family. According to the Mahābhārata (ix. 39, 35) Devāpi, like Viśvāmitra, became a Brahman by performing austerities.

Among these legends those relating to Viśvāmitra are the best known and found in much more developed form in both the epics. But neither in the hymns of the Rigveda book iii composed by Ṛishis of the family of Viśvāmitra, nor in any of the hymns of book vii composed by their opponents, the Vasishṭhas, is there any reference to the Kshatriya descent of Viśvāmitra. Similarly hymns attributed to Kavasha do not allude to his descent from a female slave. As for Devāpi, in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas the father of the Kaurava brothers, Devāpi and Śāntanu, is named Pratīpa and not Ṛishṭisheṇa, and in the Pravara section of the Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra the Ārshṭisheṇas are classed as one of the subdivisions of the great Bhṛigu gotra (clan) of the Brahman caste. So Devāpi Ārshṭisheṇa and Devāpi the Kaurava cannot be considered identical in spite of Yāska. These baseless legends were evidently invented in the later Vedic period to discourage Kshatriya or other non-Brahman candidates for priestly office by showing that a non-Brahman could not act as a sacrificial priest unless he first became Brahman either by performing austerities or through the favour of some deity. The depressed (*hīna*) Vrātya, as we shall see in the sequel, could transform himself into a Brāhman by performing the Vrātya sacrifice and then assume priestly functions. But an ordinary Kshatriya or a Vaiśya was not eligible for that rite.

The only conceivable reason why the king in the Indus Valley in the beginning agreed to waive the natural prerogative of royalty to act as the high priest and the freedom to recruit subordinate priests from any class, is to be sought in his belief that the gods of the Ṛishis were more powerful and the hymns and the rites of the Ṛishis more efficacious than the gods he could himself invoke and the rites he could himself perform. Now to sum up, the recognition of the claims of the Ṛishis to act as the sole intermediaries between the Vedic gods and men has probably to be assigned to two different causes :—

(1) The religion of the Ṛishis was quite different from the original religion of the kings and chiefs of the Indus Valley, so that the latter did not know how to invoke the gods and perform the rites of the Ṛishis.

(2) When the kings of the Indus Valley first came in contact with the Ṛishis, the indigenous civilization of the land was evidently in a state of decline and the kings and the peoples were losing their old faith in their own gods and their own rites.

Initial difference in religion between two peoples indicates difference in their mentality. I shall now proceed to show that there are evidences indicating fundamental difference in the mentality of the Brahmans and of the Kshatriyas of ancient India.

3. Human Sacrifice

The *varṇadharma* or the duties of the castes are laid down in the Brahmanic codes, and the Kshatriya king is required to enforce these codes. But there are evidences to show that certain practices that are condemned as *adharma*, sinful act, by the Brahmans for the Brahmans as well as the non-Brahmans, were practised as *dharma* or meritorious act by the Kshatriyas in spite of the provision of the Brahmanic code to the contrary. One such custom is the human sacrifice.

The formal human sacrifice called the *Purushamedha* is prescribed in one only of the Vedic Saṁhitās, the Vājasaneya Saṁhitā, and in two only of the Brāhmaṇa texts, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (iii, 4) and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (xiii, 6, 1-2). In this sacrifice the human victims were not actually slaughtered. The fire was carried round them. "Then a voice said to him, 'Purusha, do not consummate (*i.e.*, kill these human victims); if thou wert to consummate them, man (*purusha*) would eat man.' Accordingly, as soon as fire had been carried round them, he set them free and offered oblations to the same divinities."[1] This symbolical human sacrifice is permissible for a Brahman, for we are told in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (xiii. 6, 2, 19), "And if a Brahman performs the sacrifice, he should bestow all his property in order to obtain and secure everything." In the Āpastambīya-śrauta-sūtra it is provided (xx. 24, 2) that the Purushamedha may be performed both by a Brahman and a Rājanya.

Though formal Purushamedha is not prescribed in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the story of an attempted informal human sacrifice is narrated in this work (vii. 13-18; Sāṁkhyāyana-śrauta-sūtra, xv. 17-27) [in connection with the Rājasūya or the consecration of the king. Hariśchandra Vaidhasa of the Ikshvāku family was the son of a king (*rājaputra*). He had married 100 wives, but had no son by any of them. Parvata and Nārada dwelt in Hariśchandra's house. Nārada advised Hariśchandra that he should pray to Varuṇa for a son and promise that he would offer sacrifice with that son. Varuṇa granted Hariśchandra's prayer and a son was born to him and named Rohita. Varuṇa then asked Hariśchandra to fulfil his promise and offer sacrifice with Rohita. Hariśchandra put off the promised sacrifice by excuses till Rohita grew old enough to bear arms. He then said to Rohita, 'O my dear one, this one (Varuṇa) gave thee to me; come, let me sacrifice to him with thee.' Rohita refused to be sacrificed, and, taking his bow in hand, retired to the forest and wandered for a year. In the meantime Varuṇa seized Hariśchandra and his belly swelled up. Hearing of this Rohita returned to the village evidently to surrender himself to his father's will. But Indra appeared before him in the form of a Brahman and advised him to continue his wandering. Thus advised by Indra year after year, Rohita wandered for five years (or six years according to the Sāṁkhyāyana-śrauta-sūtra) in succession. In the sixth (or seventh)

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[1] Eggeling, *Satapatha-Brahmana*, Part V, (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLV), Oxford, 1900, p. 411.

year of his wandering in the forest he met with a Ṛishi named Ajigarta Sauyavasa who was accompanied by his three sons, Śunaḥpuchchha, Śunaḥśepa and Śunolāṅgula. According to the Sāṁkhyāyana-śrauta-sūtra (xv. 19, 14) Ajigarta was then so much stricken with hunger that he was about to devour one of his sons. Rohita offered a hundred cows for one of Ajigarta's sons who would be sacrificed as his (Rohita's) substitute. Ajigarta refused to part with his eldest son and his wife with the youngest; so the middle one, Śunaḥśepa, was sold to Rohita for a hundred cows. Rohita went to his father Hariśchandra and offered Śunaḥśepa as his substitute for the sacrifice. Hariśchandra asked Varuṇa whether he would accept Śunaḥśepa as the substitute of Rohita. Varuṇa agreed saying, "A Brahman is preferable to a Kshatriya." Then the *Rājasūya* or the consecration of Hariśchandra as king was undertaken and it was arranged that the human victim, Śunaḥśepa, should be slain on the day of anointing. Viśvāmitra officiated as the *Hotṛi* (reciter of Ṛik verses), Jamadagni as the *Adhvyaryu* (performer of the rite), Ayāsya as the *Udgātṛi* (singer of Sāmans) and Vasishṭha as the *Brahman* (supervising priest) of the ceremony. When Śunaḥśepa was taken to the place of sacrifice, none of the officiating priests consented to bind him to the sacrificial post. But Ajigarta came forward to do so on receipt of another hundred. Again, when nobody else consented to slaughter the victim, Ajigarta offered his services for another hundred and whetting his knife went forward. But before the foul deed could be perpetrated, Śunaḥśepa procured his own deliverance and cured Hariśchandra of his malady by composing hymns of praise to Varuṇa, Agni and other gods. Ajigarta now wanted back his son. But Viśvāmitra adopted Śunaḥśepa as his own. Then Ajigarta who belonged to the Aṅgiras clan addressed Śunaḥśepa direct and requested him to return to his father. To this Śunaḥśepa replied:—

> "They have seen thee knife in hand,
> A thing they have not found even among Śūdras.
> Three hundred of kine didst thou,
> O Aṅgiras prefer to me."[1]

In no other text except the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Sāṁkhyāyana-śrauta-sūtra is human sacrifice connected with Rājasūya. Hariśchandra promised to perform the sacrifice for obtaining a son and had to undertake the performance to cure himself of a serious malady. So the episode has no real connection with Rājasūya. Varadattasuta Ānaritya, the commentator of the Sāṁkhyāyana-śrauta-sūtra, writes:—

"Though the slaughter of man is not prescribed in connection with the Rājasūya, it is to be recognised as relevant (to the ceremony) for the sake of this story."

The three great Brahman Ṛishis who officiated as priests refused to touch the victim. Nārada, who advised Hariśchandra, was not a Brahman but a divine Ṛishi, and Ajigarta was an exceptional type of man. In the Rāmāyaṇa

[1] A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, p. 305.

i, 61-62, is given a different version of the story of Śunaḥśepa. Herein the king who tries to offer Śunaḥśepa as a sacrifice is not Hariśchandra but Ambarísha, another king of Ayodhyā. Though the epic version of the story differs from the Vedic story also in certain other points, there can be no doubt that both the stories are derived from a common traditional source.

The story of Śunaḥśepa reads like a folk-tale connected with the primitive sacrifice of the first-born. This sacrifice probably survived longer among the Kshatriyas. The following story, in some points very similar to the story of Śunaḥśepa, is told in the Mahābhārata, iii, 127-128:—

King Somaka, like Hariśchandra, had one hundred wives, but not a single son by any one of them. When he grew old and tried every means to have a son, one was born to him and named Jantu. As this only son proved a great source of anxiety to Somaka and his wives, he once asked his *Purohita* (domestic priest), called Ṛitvij in the text, whether he could prescribe any rite by performing which he (Somaka) might get one hundred sons. The Purohita advised Somaka to perform a sacrifice with Jantu as the victim. The sacrifice was performed with the same Ṛitvij as the only officiating priest in which Jantu was slaughtered and his fat offered to the fire. As a reward Somaka had 100 sons, among whom Jantu, born again, was the chief. The priest Ṛitvij died first and was followed by his patron some time after. In the world of the dead Somaka found that Ṛitvij was being roasted in the hell-fire. Somaka asked him, "Why, O twice-born one, are you rotting in hell?" His *guru* (teacher) Ṛitvij replied, "I made you perform (human) sacrifice, and this is the fruit of that *karman* (work)." Somaka then said to *Dharmarāja*, the god of death, "I shall enter the hell-fire and release my priest who is suffering for my sake." Dharmarāja replied, "No one but the perpetrator of the act can have the fruit." As Somaka refused to enter the abode of bliss without his priest, he was allowed to remain in hell with the latter till his term of punishment for human sacrifice was over and then both went together to heaven. In this story the most notable point is that human sacrifice which is sinful for a Brahman and leads him to hell is not declared sinful for a Kshatriya and does not stand in the way of his proceeding straight to the abode of bliss (*puṇya-loka*); or, in other words, according to epic tradition, human sacrifice is *adharma* (sinful act) for a Brahman, but rather *dharma* (meritorious act) for a Kshatriya.

Though actual Purushamedha (human sacrifice) involving the slaughter of the victim is not prescribed in any of the Brāhmaṇa texts and in most of the Śrauta-sūtras, it is prescribed in two of the Sūtras, in the Sāṁkhyāyana-śrauta-sūtra xvi, 10-14, and the Vaitānasūtra xvii. The Purushamedha, as described in these texts, reads more like a parody of the Aśvamedha (horse sacrifice) than a real ceremony. In the Sāṁkhyāyana-śrauta-sūtra (xvi, 10. 4) it is stated, *sarvamaśvamedhikam*, "all (the rites in connection with the human sacrifice) are like the horse sacrifice," and in the Vaitāna-sūtra, (xxxvii, 10) *purushamedho'śvamedhavat*, 'the human sacrifice is like the horse sacrifice.' The victim intended for this sacrifice must be a Brahman or a Kshatriya purchased for 1,000 cows and 100 horses. Like the sacrificial horse, he should

wander freely for a year protected by 400 guards of princely rank. After the strangulation of the human victim, the chief queen of the sacrificer is required to lie down beside him. The introduction of the *mahishī* or chief queen shows that like the horse sacrifice this form of human sacrifice is intended for Kshatriya kings. Though it is very doubtful whether this type of Purushamedha was ever intended for actual performance, its connection with royalty indicates that only Kshatriya rulers were considered capable of performing such a cruel rite. The reason for the provision of such a sacrifice seems to be that some non-Vedic form of human sacrifice survived among the Kshatriyas when the Brahmans themselves could not think of anything more than symbolical human sacrifice, and two of the compilers of the Śrauta-sūtras endeavoured to provide sanction for that survival. The traditional evidence for such a survival is found in the story of Jarāsandha in the Mahābhārata, ii.

Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, who had his capital at Girivraja (old Rāja-gṛiha surrounded by the five hills), conquered the whole of Northern India and kept as prisoners all enemy kings whom he could capture. His object in doing so was to sacrifice to Śiva 100 kings. When he had captured 86 kings and 14 more were wanted to make good the number, Kṛishṇa with Bhīma and Arjuna entered Girivraja and said to Jarāsandha (ii, 22, 9-11) :—

"O best of kings, why should a king kill (other) virtuous kings? After making the kings prisoners you want to offer them as sacrifices to Rudra...... .... Human sacrifice has never been known. Why do you wish to offer human victims to Śaṅkara?"

Kṛishṇa then requested Jarāsandha to release the captive kings. In reply to Kṛishṇa, Jarāsandha tried to justify his proposed sacrifice of the kings, not by appealing to the Veda or Śruti that ordains the sacrifice, but by saying :—

"This is said to be the *dharma* (rule) that a Kshatriya should practise; subduing (others) by his prowess he should deal with them in the way he pleases. Having gathered the kings for the god and bearing in mind as I do the sacred duty (*vrata*) of the Kshatriya, how can I release them out of fear?"

Jarāsandha did not live to carry out his cruel vow. He fought a duel with Bhīma in course of which he was killed. The actual slaughter of a man with a horse, a bull, a ram, and a he-goat is provided in connection with another ceremony, the *Agnichayana* or the piling of the fire altar. But it is stated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (vi. 2, 1, 39), "Let him slaughter those very five victims, as far as he may be able to do so; for it was these Prajāpati was the first to slaughter, Syaparna Sāyakāyana the last; and in the interval also people used to slaughter them. But now-a-days only these two are slaughtered, the one for Prajāpati, and the one for Vāyu." The two victims to be slaughtered are, a dark-grey hornless he-goat and a white hornless bearded he-goat. The latter animal is recognised as a substitute for the four other victims. We are told in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (vi. 2, 2, 15) :—

"And, again, why he slaughters this animal; —in this animal doubtless the form of all (the five kinds of) animals is (contained): inasmuch as it is

hornless and bearded, that is the form of man, for man is hornless and bearded. .... Thus when he slaughters this one, thereby indeed all those five animals are slaughtered by him."[1]

This passage shows that slaughter of man for the purpose of using his head in building up the fire altar was a primitive practice that survived among the Brahmans longer than the other forms of human sacrifice, but was abandoned in the later Vedic period. But human sacrifice continued to be practised by the Hindu worshippers of the goddess Durgā or Kālī occasionally even up to recent times. Some of the names of the Goddess, Ambikā, Kātyāyanī, Dūrgā, Kālī, occur in the Vedic literature. But the ritual of her worship, as prescribed in the Tantra literature, is totally non-Vedic. In Vākpati's Gauḍavaho, a historical poem in Prakrit written in the 8th century A. D., the hero, king Yaśovarman of Kanauj, and the patron of the poet, is led to the temple of Vindhyavāsinī Devī or Durgā, the slayer of the buffalo-demon, by a *Savara* (primitive hillman) and finds that human victims are being slaughtered there.[2] In Krishṇānanda's Tantrasāra, an authoritative Tāntrika compilation, it is stated :—

"Now follow rules for the sacrifice of he-goat and other animals. It is stated in the Muṇḍamālā (Tantra), 'He who offers a he-goat becomes a good speaker ; he who offers a sheep becomes a poet ; he who offers a buffalo gains wealth ; he who offers a deer gains salvation (*moksha*) ; he who offers a man gains great wealth and eight kinds of the highest occult powers. O great Goddess, thus knowing one should sacrifice these animals and no others ; a Brahman who sacrifices lion, tiger or man, goes to hell.' This text enjoins that Brahmans are not entitled to offer human sacrifice.......... It is also provided 'By offering the blood of his own body and by bowing down one may gain kingdom.' .... It is provided elsewhere, 'By offering wine to the great Goddess a Brahman goes to hell and by offering his own blood he becomes guilty of suicide.' "

In another authoritative manual of Tantra, Śāktānandataraṅgiṇī by Brahmānanda, it is provided :—

"Human sacrifice for the kings only : 'O great Goddess, the king should offer human sacrifice and no other person.' "[3]

These evidences relating to human sacrifice derived from the Vedic literature, the epics and the Tantras show that this cruel and barbarous rite continued to be practised by the non-Brahmans, particularly the Kshatriya kings, long long after the Brahmans had given it up as something sinful. Recognition of human sacrifice as *dharma* for the Kshatriya and *adharma* for the Brahman implies opposite mentality characterising two different psychological types. The history of another custom, the *anumaraṇa* or *anugamana*, following the husband to death, points to the same conclusion.

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[1] English translation by Eggeling, *Satapatha Brahmana*, Part III (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLI), Oxford, 1894, pp. 171 and 177.

[2] *The Gauḍavaho* by Vakpati, edited by Shankar Pandurang Pandit, Bombay, 1887, stanzas 318-329.

[3] *narabalistu rājñāmeva :—rājā narabaliṁdadyānnānyo'pi Paramesvarī.*

4. Anumaraṇa

The funeral hymns of the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda show that in the Vedic period, like Purushamedha, *anumaraṇa* or following the husband to death by mounting his funeral pyre, was also practised in a symbolic fashion. Thus in Atharvaveda xviii. 3, 1 it is said :—

"This woman, choosing her husband's world, lies down by thee that art departed, O mortal, continuing to keep her ancient duty (*dharma*) ; to her assign thou here progeny and property."

With this verse the wife was made to lie down beside her dead husband on the funeral pile. With the following verse which occurs also in the Rigveda (x, 18, 8), she is then made to rise and return home :—

"Go up, O woman, to the world of the living ; thou liest by this one who is deceased ; come ! to him who grasps thy hand, thy second spouse (*didhishu*), thou hast now entered into the relation of wife to husband."[1]

Among the extant Dharmaśāstras or the Brahmanic codes the earliest in date is the Dharmasūtra of Gautama wherein (xviii, 4-6) it is provided :—

"A woman whose husband is dead and who desires offspring (may bear a son) to her brother-in-law. Let her obtain the permission of her gurus, and let her have intercourse during the proper season only. (On failure of a brother-in-law she may obtain offspring) by a Sapiṇḍa, a Sagotra, a Samānapravara, or one who belongs to the same caste."[2]

In the Dharmasūtra of Vasishṭha (xvii. 55-56) it is stated that a widow of a deceased person should practise asceticism (sleeping on the ground, practising religious vows, etc.) for six months, and then she shall bathe and offer a funeral oblation to her husband. If she desires offspring, she may then live with another man. Baudhāyayana in his Dharmasūtra (ii. 2, 4, 7-9) provides for a widow ascetic practices for full one year before she can think of living with another man during which period she must avoid the use of "honey, meat, spirituous liquor and salt, and sleep on the ground." Manu (v. 156-161), on the other hand, provides for the widow lifelong asceticism and disapproves of any attempt on her part to have offspring by another man. Yājñavalkya in his Dharmaśāstra (i. 75 and 86) follows Manu.

Some Dharmaśāstras that are undoubtedly later in date than the codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya, provide the self-immolation of the widow as an optional duty. Thus Vishṇu (xxxv. 14) enjoins among other duties of woman :—"After the death of her husband, to preserve her chastity, or to ascend the pile after him."[3] Bṛihaspati (xxv. 11) says, "Whether she (wife), ascends the pile after him, or chooses to survive him leading a virtuous life, she promotes the welfare of her husband."[4] Dharmaśāstras probably of even

[1] English translation by Whitney, *Atharva-veda Samhita*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 8.
[2] English translation by Bühler, *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas*, Sacred Books of the East. Vol. II.
[3] English translation by Jolly, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. VII.
[4] English translation by Jolly, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXIII.

a later date than Vishṇu and Vṛihaspati assign greater merit to self-immolation than ascetic life. Thus we are told in the Parāśara-saṁhitā, iv, 30-38 :—

"When the husband of a woman is lost or dead, when the husband has become a monk, when he is impotent, when he has been excommunicated,—these are five misfortunes in consequence of which a woman is permitted to take another husband (re-marry). The woman who leads the life of an ascetic (*brahmacharya*) after the death of her husband, gains heaven after her death like other Brahmachārins (ascetics). She who follows her husband (to the next world *i.e.*, immolates herself) enjoys heaven for as many years as there are hairs on her body,—35,000,000 years. As a snake-catcher takes out a serpent from the hole by force, in the same manner the wife (who immolates herself) taking out her husband (from hell) enjoys (heavenly bliss) with him."

Vijñāneśvara in his commentary entitled Mitāksharā on the Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā, i. 85, and Mādhava in his commentary on the Parāśara-saṁhitā, iv. 32-33, quote from the Dharmaśāstras of Hārita, Śaṁkha, Aṅgiras and Vyāsa stanzas having the same purport. But Aṅgiras (as quoted by Mādhava) goes a step further and says :—

"No other duty is known to be provided for the chaste woman on the death of her husband than throwing herself into fire. So long as the body of a woman devoted to her husband is not burnt down in fire, so long she cannot escape from feminine birth by any other means."

The reason why some of the later Dharmaśāstras enjoin widow-burning, while the earlier ones are silent about it, may be inferred from another class of texts. While commenting on Rigveda x. 18, 8, Śaunaka writes in the Bṛihad-devatā (vii. 13-15), a work assigned to the fifth century B. C. :—

"With the (stanza) 'Rise up, O woman' the wife ascends (the funeral pyre) after her dead (husband). The younger brother of the departed, repeating (the stanza), prohibits (her). The Hotṛi ought to perform this rite, should there be no brother-in-law, because a Brāhmaṇa enjoins that (the widow) should not follow the departed (husband). This law regarding women may or may not apply to the other castes (than Brahmans)."[1]

The Brāhmaṇa of course refers to an injunction of a Brāhmaṇa Section of one of the Vedas. Medhātithi (on Manu v, 156), the author of the oldest extant commentary (*Bhāshya*) on the Manu-saṁhitā and Mādhava in his commentary on the Parāśara-saṁhitā (iv, 32) quote this Śruti against widow-burning :—

"One should not die before the expiry of the allotted term of life [for gaining heaven]."

The word within square brackets, *svargakāmī*, is given by Mādhava only and not by Medhātithi. Mādhava, who supports widow-burning, states that this Vedic injunction is not applicable to a woman who immolates herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. He then refers to the objection against the self-immolation of Brahman widows and writes :—

'But the self-immolation of a Brahman widow who follows her husband (to the funeral pyre) for gaining heaven is forbidden in the Smṛiti. Thus

[1] English translation by Macdonell, *Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. 6.

Paiṭhīnasi says, 'According to the injunction of Brahmā a Brahman woman cannot burn herself (on the funeral pyre) of her dead (husband); but this is ordained as the highest duty of the women of other castes.' There is (this text in) another Smṛiti: 'A Brahman woman cannot do as much good to her deceased husband by dying, as she can do by remaining alive. A woman should follow her husband when he is alive, but should not immolate herself when he is dead; remaining alive she should do good to her (deceased) husband, by dying she only commits suicide.' Aṅgiras also says, 'A woman of the Brahman caste who follows her dead husband (to the funeral pyre), does not carry either herself or her husband to heaven by committing suicide.'[1] Vyāghrapāda also says, 'A Brahman woman, overwhelmed by sorrow, should not die with her (dead) husband; (by living) she attains the goal of asceticism and by dying she only commits suicide."

Mādhava reconciles these texts clearly forbidding self-immolation on the part of a widow of Brahman caste with others cited by him in support of the rite by stating that the prohibition refers to self-immolation by mounting on a separate pyre, but not on the same pyre as the dead husband, and quotes this stanza of Uśanas for confirmation:—

"A Brahman woman should not burn herself by mounting a separate pyre; but such action is ordained as the highest womanly duty for women of other castes."

When from the Smṛitis or codes of sacred laws we turn to the Mahābhārata, we find the *anumaraṇa* practised by Kshatriya widows on rare occasions. King Pāṇḍu married Kuntī, daughter of Śura (grand-father of Kṛishṇa), the chief of the Yadus, and Mādrī, the sister of Śalya, the king of the Bāhlikas of Madra. When Pāṇḍu died in the arms of Mādrī, Kuntī said (i, 126, 25-26):—

"I am the elder lawfully wedded wife, and I am entitled to the highest religious merit. O Mādrī, do not prevent me from what must (now) follow. I must here follow our lord to death. Rise up leaving this body and bring up our sons."

Mādrī replied:—

"I shall follow (our) lord who is still within my arms; my desire is not yet satisfied; you are my elder; please give me permission. This noblest (scion) of the Bharata (family) approached me out of desire and died; why should I not go to the dwelling of the god of death to satisfy his desire."

Mādrī, saying so and entrusting her two sons to Kuntī, threw herself into the funeral pyre of her husband. When Vasudeva, the father of Kṛishṇa, died at Dvārakā, his four wives, Ḍevakī, Bhadrā, Rohiṇī and Madirā mounted the funeral pyre, but the other widows of the Yādava (Yadu) clan did not follow their example (*Mahābhārata*, xvi. 7). These are the only instances of *anumaraṇa* found in the Mahābhārata, and the Kshatriya widows who according to the epic stories did not follow their husband to death far outnumber those who did.

[1] *Parasara-dharma-samhita with the commentary of Sayana-Madhava*, edited by Vaman Sastri Islampurkar, Volume II, Part I, Bombay, 1898, pp. 55-56.

This long string of texts throws clear light on the history of *anumaraṇa* in India for more than a millennium. In the early Vedic period, among the Ṛishi clans who composed and transmitted the funeral hymns, widow burning was practised only in a symbolical manner; the widow was made to ascend the funeral pyre of her deceased husband and then brought back home by her husband's brother or some other relative with whom she lived as man and wife. In the later Vedic period the practice came to be condemned as a form of suicide. But it did not die out among the Kshatriyas and probably among certain other non-Brahman castes and therefore the author of the Bṛihaddevatā (vii. 13-15) is in doubt whether it is *strīdharma* or a meritorious act on the part of women of non-Brahman castes.

The Bṛihaddevatā of Śaunaka marks the last phase of creative Brahmanism. Then the ascendancy of religions like Vaishṇavisim, Jainism and Buddhism which inaugurated the worship of Kshatriya heroes and saints very probably rendered Kshatriya usages comparatively more popular even with the average members of the Brahman caste. It was evidently in this era of Kshatriya reaction that texts enjoining widow-burning as a general rule for all castes attributed to Vishṇu, Aṅgiras and Parāśara were published. The orthodox section of the Brahmans tried to counteract the influence of these texts by producing texts attributed to Paiṭhīnasi, Vyāghrapāda and others that definitely prohibited *anumaraṇa* for the Brahman women, but declared it lawful for women of other castes. A passage in the Sanskrit prose romance, Kādambarī by Bāṇa, who flourished in the first half of the seventh century A. D., gives expression to the opinion of the cultured section of the Brahmans of the mediæval period regarding the practice. Bāṇa writes:—

"This practice called *anumaraṇa* is absolutely fruitless (*atinishphalam*). This practice of putting an end to one's own life on the death of the father, brother, friend or husband (*bhartari*) is followed by the uneducated (*avidvaj-jana*); it is due to delusion of mind (*mohavilasita*), ignorance, hot-headedness, short-sightedness, gross heedlessness (*atipramāda*); it is a digression from the path of duty on account of foolishness. Life should not be put an end to till it leaves (one) of itself (*i.e.*, till one dies in course of nature). If the matter is seriously considered, (it becomes apparent) that self-immolation is due to selfish motive, to get rid of unendurable pain caused by bereavement. It does no good to the deceased. It cannot bring the deceased back to life; it is not the way to increase religious merit; it is not the way to gain the world of bliss; it cannot prevent one from falling into hell; it cannot enable one to see the deceased; it cannot enable one to meet the deceased. The finite soul, lacking freedom, is carried to another world (heaven or hell) as a result of *karman* (meritorious or sinful acts), and there the sin of comitting suicide is attached to it. If the person lives, she can do immense good to the deceased and to herself by offering water and other funeral oblations; but if she dies, she can do no good either to the deceased or to herself."[1]

[1] I am indebted to Pandit B. B. Bidyabinod, Assistant Curator, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, for this reference. For Miss C. M. Ridding's translation see *The Kadambari of Bana* (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series II) London, 1896, pp. 136-137.

These words which Chandrāpīḍa, the hero of the romance, addresses to Mahāśvetā whose lover Puṇḍarika had died from the torments of passion, are not relevant to the story, but is a mere digression. A divine being who carried the dead body of Puṇḍarīka to heaven had bidden her not follow him to death, but wait for reunion with him, and Mahāśvetā accordingly had already decided to do so, devoting herself in the meanwhile to the performance of penances. So Bāṇa's main object in putting these words in the mouth of his hero was to condemn a cruel practice that was then evidently growing popular among all castes. Bāṇa here explains the rational basis of the Brahmanic opposition to the rite. The authorities who support *anumaraṇa* state that a widow who follows her husband to death rescues him from hell and enables him to enjoy heavenly bliss in her company. But this view is not consistent with the law of *karman* which provides that every being must live out the consequences of his own *karman*, and anything done by another person cannot help him to avoid those consequences. So a widow who follows her husband to death cannot really help him in the next world, but, on the contrary, deprives him of his due funeral offerings and burdens herself with the sin of suicide in addition. From a different standpoint, taking his stand on the injunctions of the *Śruti* and the most authoritative Smṛiti (Manusaṁhitā), Medhātithi, the author of the most authoritative commentary (Bhāshya) on the code of Manu, who flourished two centuries after Bāṇa, writes on Manu v. 156 :—

"(Here) suicide is forbidden also for women as for men. As regards the statement made by Aṅgiras, '(the woman) should die with her husband,' it is not always obligatory. The reward (of this rite) is extolled there. If the desire for reward is in question, (it) stands on the same footing as the *śyena* sacrifice. In connection with that (it should be remembered) that the Vedic text, 'One should kill living beings by performing the *śyena* sacrifice,' does not become *dharma* or good law, though, blinded by very deep hatred, some may follow it. In the same manner here also, in spite of (Manu's) injunction against suicide, a widow's self-immolation by violating that injunction on account of a very keen desire to reap the reward cannot be recognised as an act that is in accordance with the scripture. Therefore, the self-immolation of a widow on the funeral pyre of her husband is also forbidden (by Manu). Further, as the (alleged) provision of the Smṛiti (for the self-immolation of the widow) is opposed to the clear Vedic injunction, 'One should not die before the expiry of the allotted term of life,' it is not also fit to attribute such a meaning to the Smṛiti."[1]

Medhātithi's opposition to *anumaraṇa* indicates that the old Brahmanic spirit that always set its face against barbarous practices was still alive in the ninth century. But two centuries later Medhātithi's views on *anumaraṇa* are openly challenged by Vijñāneśvara, the author of the well-known commentary

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[1] For English translation by Mm. Ganganath Jha see *Manu-Smriti, The Laws of Manu with the Bhashya of Medhātithi* Vol. III, Part I, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 178-179.

on Yājñavalkya-smṛiti called *Mitākshară* written in the reign of King Vikramāditya VI of Kalyānī (A. D. 1073-1126). Yājñavalkya says (i, 86) :—

"A woman should not live apart from her father, mother, son, brother, mother-in-law, father-in-law or maternal uncle after the death of her husband; otherwise she is blameworthy."

The silence of this stanza, the only one in the Yājñavalkya-smṛiti that refers to the widow, relating to *anumaraṇa* is liable to be construed as the practical prohibition of the practice. Vijñāneśvara, therefore, in his comment on this stanza says that the rule herein set forth is intended for those widows only who choose to practise ascetism instead of following the husband to death. He adds that the prohibition regarding Brahman women relates to the mounting of separate pyre. Vijñāneśvara then proceeds to meet Medhātithi's objections. He says that there is no analogy between the *śyena* sacrifice and widow's following her husband to death. Vijñāneśvara's explanation of the Vedic injunction, "One should not die (for gaining heaven) before the expiry of the allotted term of life," is interesting. He says that this injunction is applicable only to a woman who aims at *moksha* or final emancipation from the cycle of rebirths. Such a woman should not follow her husband to death for gaining heaven where also one is overtaken by death. She who desires *moksha* must gain the knowledge of the Paramātman (Oversoul) within her life time. So, if such a person were to commit suicide for gaining heaven, she could not gain the knowledge that leads to final emancipation; for that knowledge was attainable only in human birth and not by a dweller of heaven. Vijñāneśvara, therefore, takes the Vedic text to mean, "One should not put an end to oneself before the allotted time for death for the transient and trifling pleasures in heaven," and concludes: "Therefore *anumaraṇa*, like any other rite performed with the object of obtaining fruit, is justifiable and not reprehensible for a woman who is not desirous of gaining final emancipation, but who hankers after the transitory and trifling pleasures in heaven."

Vijñāneśvara does not quote any text in support of his contention that the prohibition of *anumaraṇa* on the part of a Brahman widow relates to her mounting a separate pyre instead of the funeral pyre of her husband. As we have seen above (p. 21), a stanza attributed to Uśanas supporting this view is quoted for the first time by Mādhava who wrote his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛiti about two and a half centuries after Vijñāneśvara.

The Brahmanic hostility to *anumaraṇa* consistently maintained up to the time of Medhātithi, and the popularity of that cruel rite among non-Brahmans, indicate, like the survival of human sacrifice among the latter, that the Brahmans on the one hand and the non-Brahmans, particularly the Kshatriyas, on the other, originally belonged to two different psychological types. The recognition of *anumaraṇa* by the Brahmans from the time of Vijñāneśvara onward is due to the decadence of the old Brahmanic spirit as a result of the fusion of races and cultures. It was to prevent such fusion that the far-sighted Brahmans erected the barriers that separated caste from caste.

5. The Vrātya and the Yati

If we are right in our assumption that in the Indus Valley the distinction between the priest and the king, between the Ṛishi families on the one hand and the warrior clans and the common people (*viśaḥ*) on the other, from the dawn of history, is to be traced to the fundamental cultural difference between the two groups, then we have got to abandon the orthodox view that the upper Indus Valley was wrested from the dark skinned and noseless Dāsa or Dasyu still in a state of savagery by a vigorous race of immigrants who descended from the mountains of Afghanistan near about the beginning of the second millennium B. C. The hypothesis that seems to fit in best with the evidence discussed above may be stated thus : on the eve of the Aryan immigration the Indus Valley was in possession of a civilized and warlike people. The Aryans, mainly represented by the Ṛishi clans, came to seek their fortune in small numbers more or less as missionaries of the cults of Indra, Varuṇa, Agni and other gods of nature and settled in peace under the protection of the native rulers who readily appreciated their great merit as sorcerers and employed them to secure the assistance of the Aryan gods against their human and non-human enemies by offering sacrifices with the recitation of hymns. Now, if the hymns of the Rigveda enable us to reconstruct the proto-history of the Indus Valley in this way, the relics of an advanced pre-historic civilization unearthed at Harappa on the Ravi and Mohenjo-daro in Sind warrant us in taking a further step and recognising in the warrior clans—the Bharatas, Pūrus, Yadus, Turvaśas, Anus, Druhyus and others celebrated in the Rigveda the representatives of the ruling class of the indigenous chalcolithic population. The main difficulty of this hypothetical reconstruction, a link between the Vedic traditions and the relics of the chalcolithic civilization of the Indus Valley, now faces us.

A group of stone statuettes found at Mohenjo-daro in a mutilated condition seems to me to supply this missing link between the pre-historic and the historic civilization of India. The only part of these statuettes that is in fair state of preservation, the bust, is characterised by a stiff erect posture of the head, the neck and the chest, and half-shut eyes looking fixedly at the tip of the nose (Plate I, fig. b).[1] This posture is not met with in the figure sculptures, whether pre-historic or historic, of any people outside India ; but it is very conspicuous in the images worshipped by all Indian sects, including the Jainas and the Buddhists, and is known as the posture of the Yogin or one engaged in practicing concentration. As examples images of a seated Jina or Tīrthaṅkara (Plate II, fig. a), of a standing Jina (Plate II, fig. b) and of a standing Buddhist deity called Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (Plate II, fig. c) are reproduced for comparison. Most of the Buddhist and the Brahmanic images, like our image of Vajrapāṇi, show some form of action with their hands, such as calling the earth to witness, teaching, offering boon, offering

[1] For other statuettes of the type see *A. S. I. A. R., 1926-27*, Plate XIX. Plate I, fig. a, shows a head with wide open eyes. This is evidently due to the loss of the shell inlay and the upper eyelid of paste.

protection, etc., but their face, like the face of the Jinas, invariably shows absorption in Yoga. The Hindu conception of the divine is modelled on the Yogin. The earliest known images of the Jina or Buddha are not earlier than the 1st century A. D.[1] So a distance of about three thousand years separates the statues of Mohenjo-daro and the earliest known Jina and Buddhist images. How, then, can the former serve as a link between the history and pre-history of India,—as a witness of the survival of the chalcolithic civilisation in the historic period? Though no archæological evidence supporting such an assumption has yet come to light, there are literary evidences that seem to bridge the gulf. In the Śvetāśvátara Upanishad, a text recognised as part of the Vedic canon and commented on by Śaṅkara, the religious practices known as dhyāna-yoga (dhyāna=contemplation; yoga=concentration) are thus described (ii. 8-10):—

"If a wise man hold his body with its three erect parts (chest, neck and head) even and turn his senses with the mind towards the heart, he will then in the boat of Brahman cross all the torrents which cause fear.

"Compressing his breathings let him, who has subdued all motions, breathe forth through the nose with gentle breath. Let the wise man without fail restrain his mind, that chariot yoked with vicious horses.

"Let him perform his exercises in a place level, pure, free from pebbles, fire, and dust, delightful by its sounds, its water, and bowers, not painful to the eye, and full of shelters and caves."[2]

The *dhyāna-yoga* is thus prescribed in the Bhagavadgītā, vi. 11-13:—

"Fixing his seat not too high, nor too low, and covering it over with blades of kuśa grass, a deer skin, and a sheet of cloth, in a clean place,

"Seated on that seat, there fixing his mind exclusively on one point, and restraining the activities of his mind and outer organs of sensation, he should practise *yoga* for the purification of the self,

"Holding his body, neck and head even, unmoved and steady, *gazing at the tip of his own nose,* and not looking around,

"With a tranquil mind, fearless, observing the vow of an ascetic, restraining the mind, fixing the mind on Me (God) and making Me as the goal (the Yogin) should be seated (in meditation)."

In the Bhagavadgītā v. 27 it is also said that the Yogin should make his out-breathing and in-breathing even and breathe through the nostrils. According to the Yogasūtra of Patañjali (ii. 29)[3] there are eight limbs or constituents of Yoga: *yama,* abstentions; *niyama,* observances; *āsana,* postures; *prāṇāyāma,* interruption of the flow of inspiration and respiration; *pratyāhāra,* abstention from the objects of the senses; *dhāraṇā,* binding the mind to a place (*e.g.,* the tip of the nose); *dhyāna,* contemplation; *samādhi,* rapt concentration.

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[1] See the Plates in Ananda K. Coomarswamy, "The Origin of the Buddha Image," *The Art Bulletin,* Vol. IX, No. 4 (New York), 1927.

[2] English translation by Max Muller, *The Upanishads, The Sacred Books of the East,* Vol. XV, Oxford, 1900, p. 241.

[3] J. H. Woods, *The Yoga-system of Patañjali,* Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XVII, Cambridge, Mass., 1914.

We learn from some of the earliest Pali Buddhist *suttas* (belonging to the Mājjhima Nikāya) that after his renunciation the Śākya monk Siddhārtha (the future Gotama Buddha) went to Uruvelā near Gaya to practise what is called Dhyāna-yoga in the Śvetaśvatara Upanishad. About the spot selected for the purpose we are told :—

" Still in search of the right, and in quest of the excellent road to peace beyond compare, I came in the course of an alms-pilgrimage through Magadha, to the camp township of Uruvelā, and there took up my abode. Said I to myself on surveying the place :—Truly a delightful spot, with its goodly groves and clear flowing river with ghats and amenities, hard by a village for sustenance. What more for his striving can a young man need whose heart is set on striving ? So there I sat down, needing nothing further for my striving."[1]

The *yoga* exercises practised by the future Buddha at Uruvelā are described in the Mahā-saccakka-sutta wherein it is said that with teeth clenched and with tongue pressed against his palate, by sheer force of mind he restrained, coerced and dominated his mind till sweat streamed from his armpits. As a result :—

" Resolute grew my perseverance which never quailed ; there was established in me a mindfulness which knew no distraction,—though my body was sore distressed and afflicted, because I was harassed by these struggles as I painfully struggled on. Yet even such unpleasant feelings as then arose did not take possession of my mind."[2]

The exercise referred to here is evidently the *āsana* or posture. Then the future Buddha repeatedly performed *prāṇāyāma* (*appānakam*), not breathing, with *dhyāna* (*jhānam*), contemplation. He kept on stopping all breathing, in or out, through mouth and nose and ears. Then he undertook severe austerities and cut off food altogether. As these austerities did not enable the future Buddha to transcend ordinary human limits, he began to look for another path of *Bodhi* (Enlightenment). Then—

" A memory came to me of how once seated in the cool shade of a rose-apple (*jambu*) tree on the lands of my father the Sakyan, I, divested of pleasures of sense and of wrong states of mind, entered upon, and abode in the First Dhyāna (*pathamaṁ jhānaṁ*), with all its zest and satisfaction,—a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection. Could this be the path to *Bodha ?* In prompt response to this memory, my consciousness told me that here lay the true path of *Bodha*."[3]

The description of *dhyāna* as a state of inward aloofness together with observation and reflection practically agrees with Patañjali's definition of *dhyāna* as *dhāraṇā*, fixed attention, joined to an idea (Yogasūtra, iii, 1-2). When the future Buddha remembered his first *dhyāna* he took solid food and seated himself to perform it. After the first *dhyāna* he rose above reasoning and reflection and entered into second *dhyāna* which is described as *samādhijam*, 'a state bred of rapt concentration.' The second *dhyāna* corresponds to what Patañjali

[1] English translation by Lord Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, London, 1926, p. 117.
[2] Lord Chalmers, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
[3] Lord Chalmers, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

also calls *samādhi*. The third and the fourth *dhyānas* of the Buddhists correspond to different stages of *samādhi*. The future Buddha successfully practised the four successive *dhyānas* in the first watch of the memorable night of his enlightenment and as a first fruit recalled his previous births. Next he gained the *divyachakshu* or the Eye Celestial which enabled him to see "beings in the act of passing hence and re-appearing elsewhere." Ultimately the future Buddha saw the four noble truths—suffering, origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering, and the path that leads to the cessation of suffering, and by now the fortunate possessor of *Bodhi*, perfect knowledge or enlightenment, that is to say, a Buddha, he realised, "Rebirth is no more; my task is done."

Patañjali gives the collective name *saṁyama*, constraint, to the three exercises, *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi* (iii. 4), and among the fruits of *saṁyama* he includes "the knowledge of previous births" (iii. 18) and "the knowledge of the past and the future" (iii. 16). Indian tradition attributes the Yogasūtra to the famous grammarian Patañjali who flourished in the second century B. C. Questions such as, whether the Yogasūtra is as old, or much younger, and whether the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad is a post-Buddhist or a pre-Buddhist work, are quite immaterial for the present discussion. These Brahmanic texts, read with the Pali Buddhist texts, furnish strong traditional evidence to show that *dhyāna-yoga* was regularly practised by ascetics of different sects as early as the sixth century B. C.

The Buddhist and Upanishadic traditions carry us backward beyond the earliest known images of Jina and Buddha by six or seven centuries only. But there is still left a distance of over two milleniums between Gotama Buddha and the stone statuettes of Mohenjo-daro. Where is the bridge over this gulf? The *dhyāna-yoga* itself, as outlined in the Pali canon, includes primitive elements that take us back to an earlier stage of culture than the one represented by Upanishadism and early Buddhism. In the Sāmañña-phala Sutta (the fruits of the life of a recluse) it is said that the practice of the four *dhyānas* enables a recluse to gain Ṛiddhi or magical powers. There are these modes of Ṛiddhi;—from being one to become many and having become many to become one; being visible to become invisible; to pass without hindrance to the further side of a wall or a battlement or a mountain, as if through air; to penetrate solid ground, as if through water; to walk on water, as if on solid ground; to travel cross-legged in the sky; to touch the sun and the moon with hand; to ascend in body up to the heaven of Brahmā.[1] In the Kevaddha Sutta, Kevaddha, a young householder of Nālandā, requests Buddha to command one of his disciples to perform wonders (*ṛiddhi-prātihārya*) in order to win a larger number of devoted adherents among the population of Nālandā. Buddha in reply distinguishes three types of wonders or miracles (*prātihāryāni*), *ṛiddhi* miracles, the marvellous power of mind-reading or guessing other peoples' character, and the miracle of instruction, and adds: if a monk were to perform *ṛiddhi* miracles, the unbeliever might say, O! he was not an Arhant, he must

[1] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, London, 1899, p. 88.

have performed the miracles with the help of the Gandhāra charm (*Gandhāri nāma vijjā*); if a monk were to guess the thought or character of another man, the unbeliever might say, he must have performed it through jewel charm (*maṇiko nāma vijjā*). Buddha says in conclusion, "Well, Kevaddha, it is because I perceive danger in the practice of *ṛiddhi* wonders (as well as mind and character reading), that I loathe, and abhor, and am ashamed thereof."[1]

Like the Vedic sacrifices and penances, Dhyāna-yoga was probably originally practised as a means of gaining worldly objects and miraculous powers. But the growth of belief in the doctrine of transmigration brought about a revolutionary change in the spiritual outlook. As a result of this change, the Vedic gods came to be classed as mortals and the Vedic sacrifices offered to these gods lost ground, while Dhyāna-yoga entered the arena in a new rôle as a means of acquiring perfect knowledge which alone could lead a man to final emancipation from the cycle of re-births. But in the older prose Upanishads which contain the earliest notice of the doctrine of transmigration,[2] Dhyāna-yoga does not find that recognition. These Upanishads recognise two paths, *Pitṛiyāna*, the path of the fathers, and *Devayāna*, the path of the gods. The followers of Pitṛiyāna perform sacrifices, works of piety and austerities (Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, vi. 2. 16), or living in a village, practise sacrifices, works of piety and alms-giving (Chhāndogya Upanishad, v. 10. 3-7), and after enjoying the fruits of their works in heaven after death are again reborn. The Devayānists worship the Truth with faith in the forest (Bṛihadāraṇyaka, vi. 2. 15) or follow faith and austerities in the forest (Chhāndogya, v. 10. 1), and ultimately reach the world of Brahman from which there is no return.[3] According to the Buddhist texts Gotama Buddha taught that austerities were not absolutely necessary for gaining perfect knowledge; Dhyāna-yoga (the practice of the four *dhyānas*) was enough for that purpose; and that there was return even from the Brahmaloka (the world of Brahmā). The futility of extreme penances and liability to death in the Brahmaloka make up the point of departure of early Buddhism from early Upanishadism as represented by the Bṛihadāraṇyaka, Chhāndogya and Kaushīṭakī Upanishads. It is therefore evident that Dhyāna-yoga was not originally practised even by Brahmans who sought final emancipation, but was confined to the heterodox Kshatriyas like Buddha. The following legend preserved in the Bhagavadgītā (iv. 1-2) points to the same conclusion:—

"This immutable yoga I first expounded to Vivasvat (sun-god); Vivasvat taught it to Manu and Manu taught it to Ikshvāku. Thus handed down by a succession of teachers this (yoga) was known to the royal sages. O punisher of enemies, that yoga has been lost here since a very long time."

If the orthodox followers of the Vedas did not adopt yoga in the early Upanishadic period for gaining the knowledge of Brahman, it is incredible that, notwithstanding their elaborate sacrificial rites and penances (*tapas*), they practised postures (*āsana*) and regulations of breath (*prāṇāyāma*) in solitude

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1 T. W. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-279.
2 Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 573.
3 Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 576.

in the pre-Upanishadic period for gaining magical powers. Therefore we have to conclude that Yoga as a system of exercises for gaining magical powers originated among the non-Brahman or pre-Aryan population of Northern India, or, rather North-Western India (*e.g.*, *Gandhāri vidyā*) in the pre-historic period.

The Vedic literature bears witness to the existence of two classes of non-Brahman magician priests in the Vedic and the proto-historic period who are respectively called the Vrātyas and the Yatis. We first come across the Vrātya in the Atharvaveda, book xv. In contents and style this Vrātya book is like the Brāhmaṇas, and like the Brāhmaṇa texts it is also in prose. The Vrātya, as described in the Vrātya book, is more or less an enigma. I shall give a few extracts from this book in Whitney's translation :—

1. "A Vrātya there was, just going about ; he stirred Prajāpati........ He became Mahādeva .... He became Iśāna. He became the sole Vrātya ; he took to himself a bow ; that was Indra's bow..................

2. "Against both the *bṛihat* and the *rathantara* and the Āditya and all the gods doth he offend who revileth a thus-knowing Vrātya..........of him in the eastern quarter faith is the harlot, Mitra the *Māgadha*, discernment the garment, day the turban (*ushṇīsha*), night the hair, yellow the two *pravartas*, *kalmali* the jewel (*maṇi*), both what is and what is to be the two footmen, mind the rough vehicle (*vipatha*),..........the whirlwind the goad (*pratoda*)......

3. "He stood a year erect ; the god said to him : Vrātya, why now standest thou ? He said : Let them bring together a settle (*āsandī*) for me. For the Vrātya they brought together a settle.............. That settle the Vrātya ascended.

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8. "He became impassioned ; thence was born the noble (*rājanya*). He arose towards the tribes (*viś*), the kinsmen, fond, food-eating.

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13. .... "Now in whosesoever house a thus-knowing Vrātya abides unlimited nights as guest, he thereby gains possession of those pure worlds that are unlimited. Now to whosesoever house may come as guest a non-Vrātya, calling himself Vrātya, bearing the name only, he may draw him, and he may not draw him. For this deity I ask water ; this deity I cause to abide ; this, this deity I wait upon—with this thought he should wait upon him.

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18. "Of that Vrātya—as for his right eye, that is yonder sun ; as for his left eye, that is yonder moon. As for his right ear, that is this fire ; as for his left ear, that is this cleansing ('*wind*'). Day-and-night (are his) two nostrils ; Diti and Aditi (his) two skull-halves ; the year (his) head. With the day (is) the Vrātya westward ; with the night eastward : homage to Vrātya."

This mystical Vrātya of the Atharvaveda (xv) has given rise to diverse theories.[1] The pious vagrant or wandering religious mendicant is certainly his

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[1] *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, pp. 342-344 ; Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 154 and note.

proto-type. Among the modern Hindus a wandering religious mendicant usually called Sādhu (saint), who is believed to be a *siddha-purusha*, 'one who has reached the goal,' receives divine honours irrespective of his creed. This was also the practice of the Hindus in the past. To a great extent the Jainism of the laity is little more than saint worship. An old Jaina text, the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabahu, begins with this invocation, "Salutation to the Arahants, salutation to the Siddhas, salutation to the preceptors, salutation to the teachers, salutation to all saints on earth" (*namo loe savvasahunaṁ*). The inscription of Kharavela in the Hathigumpha on the Khandagiri hill near Bhuvanesvara (Orissa) opens with, *namo arahaṁtānaṁ namo savasidhānaṁ*. So it seems evident that the Vrātya to whom homage is offered in the Atharvaveda xv is a true Vrātya or true Sādhu, a *siddha-purusha*, who has reached his goal, *i.e.*, acquired highest occult powers. In section 13 a true Vrātya is distinguished from a Vrātya in name only.

The inclusion of the turban (*ushṇīsha*), goad (*pratoda*) and *vipatha* among the outfit of the Vrātya shows that the *hīna* (depressed) Vrātya described in the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa (Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa), xvii. 1, is the prototype of the Vrātya of the Atharvaveda xv. These depressed Vrātyas are described in the Brāhmaṇa as a class who "do not practise *brahmacharya* (asceticism) and do not engage in agriculture or trade" (xvii. 1. 2); "who are eaters of poison who take food prepared in villages for feeding Brahmans; who declare as unpronounceable words that are easily pronounced; who wander about doing injury to innocent people; who, though uninitiated, speak the language of the initiated." (xvii. 1. 9). According to the Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra (xxvi. 32) several persons were initiated into the Vrātya sacrifice at the same time. After the sacrifice the leading Vrātya of the group is required to give as the sacrificial fee the following articles belonging to himself: turban goad, a bow without arrow, a rough vehicle (*vipatha*) covered with planks, black cloth, two black and white skins, silver *nishka*. Each of the other Vrātya participants in the sacrifice is required to part with cloth with red fringes and having two cords on two borders, a pair of leather shoes or sandals and a pair of skins. The Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra (xviii. 24) gives a more detailed account of the Vrātya sacrifice. According to this authority, when a Vrātya is initiated in the sacrifice he retains his peculiar outfit which includes black cloth with black hem, a gold and a silver nishka and black turban. Even when initiated in the sacrifice, he is allowed to speak the *Vrātyavāda*, the dialect of the Vrātya. His goad serves as the sacrificial post. In the Lāṭyāyana-śrauta-sūtra (viii. 6. 7) it is said that the Vrātyas wear their turban in a slanting manner. Baudhāyana adds a white blanket (xxvi. 32) to the Vrātya's outfit. Thus attired, and riding on a ramshackle chariot drawn by a horse and a mule (Lāṭyāyana-śrauta-sūtra, viii. 6. 10-11; Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra, xxii, 5) the Vrātya wandering mendicant must have been a very impressive figure. The statement in the Atharvaveda xv. 8, "Vrātya became impassioned; thence was born the Rājanya (Kshatriya)," shows his close connection with the Kshatriya caste. Another statement in the Atharvaveda (xv. 3), "He stood a year erect," seems to indicate that the

Vrātya practised *yoga*—standing erect like the standing Jina in a posture known as *kāyotsarga*, 'dedication of the body', with both arms hanging on sides (Plate II, fig. b). In the Lāṭyāyana-śrauta-sūtra it is added (viii. 6. 29), "'After performing the Vrātya sacrifice a Vrātya should adopt *traividyavṛitti*,'' *i.e.*, the profession of the Brahman priest—studying and teaching the Vedas, performing and causing others to perform sacrifice, and giving and accepting gifts. The Vrātya sacrifice is evidently intended to incorporate with the Brahman caste a class of religious mendicants who were occasionally employed as priests in non-Vedic, and indirectly even in Vedic rites, for in Atharvaveda xv. 12 it is said that when a Vrātya is a guest in a house the householder should not perform *agnihotra*, fire-offering, without his permission.

The Vrātyas emerge only in the later Vedic period and are not mentioned in the hymns of the Rigveda. But some of the hymns of that collection refer to another class, the Yatis, who were probably the fore-runners of the Vrātyas. In Rigveda viii. 3. 9 Indra is said to have helped the Yatis and the Ṛishis Bhṛigu and Praskaṇva. In viii. 6. 18 it is said that the Yatis and Bhṛigus (*Bhṛigavaḥ*) praised Indra. The Yatis are deified, like the Vrātya after them, in Rigveda x. 72. 7, wherein it is stated that like the Yatis, the gods created the existing things. In a stanza of the Sāmaveda (ii. 304) that does not recur in the Rigveda the Yati is classed with Indra and Mitra as the slayer of Vṛitra, and Bhṛigu is classed with Indra as the slayer of Bala.[1] Bhṛigu and the Bhṛigus are mentioned in the Rigveda as ancient Ṛishis ranking with the Atharvans and the Aṅgirases as Fathers or founders of the Vedic fire-cult. The Bhṛigus are particularly connected with the discovery of the fire, its lighting up, and its care.[2] The semi-divine founder of the Bhṛigu clan must have lived long anterior to the Rigvedic period, in what should be recognised as the proto-historic period, and the Yatis associated with him have to be assigned to the same age. But the later Vedic literature repeatedly refers to a legend which shows that the Yatis incurred the hostility of Indra and were destroyed as a consequence. Thus in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā of the Yajurveda it is said :—

" Indra gave the Yatis to the Sālāvṛikas ; them they ate on the right of the high altar. Whatever is left of the sprinkling waters he should pour on the right of the high altar ; whatever cruel is there that he appeases thereby." (Keith).

The legend is also referred to in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā ii. 4. 9. 2. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vii. 28, Indra's giving away the Yatis to the hyaenas (Sālāvṛikas), like his slaying Vṛitra, is included among sins that led the gods to exclude him from Soma drinking. The legend is thus narrated in the Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, viii. 1. 4 :—

" Indra gave away the Yatis over to the Sālāvṛikas. Three among them survived : Rāyovāja, Pṛithuraśmi and Bṛihadgiri. They said, 'Who will support us as sons ?' 'I shall support you,' said Indra and placing them on his three points wandered."

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[1] Muir *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, London, 1870, p. 49, note 72.

[2] Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 225 ; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 140.

In the legend of the Yatis as given in the Jaiminíya Brāhmaṇa, i. 185-186, it is said that the three surviving Yatis who were mere boys praised Indra. Then—

"He (Indra) said to them: 'With what wish, O boys, do you praise me?' 'Support us O Bounteous one,' they said. He threw them over his shoulders. They clung to his three points.. ... He said to them: 'What does the first wish? What the second? what the third?' Rāyovāja said: 'I desire cattle,' He gave to him the Ilā. For the Ilā is cattle. Again Pṛithuraśmi said: 'I desire nobility.' He gave to him nobility (*kshatram*). He is Pṛithu Vaiṇya. Again Bṛihadgiri said: 'I desire food.' He gave him his wish."[1]

From these extracts the story of the Yatis may be summed up thus. The Yatis were a group of priests ranking with the Bhṛigus and Praskaṇva and credited with superhuman powers like the gods. In course of time they incurred the hostility of Indra who caused the whole group to be slaughtered with the exception of three boys. One of these survivors obtained *kshatra*, or the rank of Kshatriya from Indra and became king as Pṛithu Vaiṇya, the first of the consecrated kings and the inventor of agriculture;[2] the others obtained cattle and food. It should be noted here that none of the surviving Yatis asked for and obtained *brahma*, or priestly function. Now the question is, how could the Yatis, who with Bhṛigu and Praskaṇva figure as worshippers of Indra, incur the hostility of that god, that is to say, of his orthodox worshippers? The only possible answer to this question is, that the Yatis were not originally priests of the Vedic cult like the Bhṛigus and the Kaṇvas, but of non-Vedic rites practised by the indigenous pre-Aryan population of the Indus Valley. In the legend of the slaughter of the Yatis by Indra we probably hear an echo of the conflict between the native priesthood and the intruding Ṛishis in the proto-historic period. If this interpretation of the legend is correct, it may be asked, what was the religious or magico-religious practice of the Yatis? In classical Sanskrit Yati denotes an ascetic. The term is derived from the root *yat*, to strive, to exert oneself, and is also connected with the root *yam*, to restrain, to subdue, to control. As applied to a priest, etymologically Yati can only mean a person engaged in religious exercise such as *tapas*, austerities, and yoga. Von Schroeder understands by the term a magician priest or a Shaman.[3] The marble statuettes of Mohenjo-daro with head, neck and body quite erect and half-shut eyes fixed on the tip of the nose has the exact posture of one engaged in practising Yoga. I therefore propose to recognise in these statuettes the images of the Yatis of the proto-historic and pre-historic Indus Valley intended either for worship or as votive offerings. Like the Ṛishis of the pre-Rigvedic and early Rigvedic period, these Yatis, who practised Yoga, were also primarily magicians. But the mythology, the poetry and the elaborate sacrificial rites of the Ṛishis made a stronger appeal to the nobility and the Viś than the Yoga

[1] Translated by Hertel, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XIX, pp. 124-125.

[2] *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 16.

[3] *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 11-15. I am indebted to Dr. Baini Prasad, Superintendent, Zoological Survey of India, for an English translation of von Schroeder's valuable article.

exercises carried on in solitude. So, as Vedic religion became more and more popular the Yatis receded into the background and were gradually reduced to the condition of the outcasted religious mendicants or Vrātyas. But when, with the growth of belief in the doctrines of transmigration and of *Atman* (Self), the knowledge of Self or of the Absolute came to be recognised as the way to final emancipation, the *Yoga* of the Yatis came to its own again as a means of gaining that knowledge and gave birth to the Brahmanic order of the Sannyāsins, who are Yatis *par excellence*, and to the non-Brahman orders of the Sramaṇas like the Śākyaputrīyas (Buddhists), the Nirgranthas (Jainas), the Ājīvikas and others.

6. The Tree and the Animal Standard

Mr. Ernest Mackay writes about the broken statuette of Mohenjo-daro reproduced in Plate I, fig. b, "It seems probable that this head is that of a priest, for priestly statues have been found in Babylonia wearing garments very similarly decorated with trefoils."[1] It may be noted that many of the Buddha images, both standing and seated, show the upper garment worn in the same fashion over the left shoulder and running to the right armpit. This "priest" of Mohenjo-daro in whom we propose to recognise the prototype of the images of Buddha and Jina, is not found in isolation, but other elements of Buddhism, or rather the primitive background of Buddhism, are also traceable in the Chalcolithic religion of the Indus Valley. One of these is the cult of the *Pipal* tree (*ficus religiosa*) worshipped by the Buddhists as the Bodhi tree of Gautama Buddha. A seal unearthed at Mohenjo-daro shows a *Pipal* tree with twin heads springing from the trunk.[2] These heads with one horn do not resemble the head of any known animal, and their arrangement is reminiscent of the Buddhist *triratna* symbol associated with the Bodhi trees.[3] Therefore they seem to me to represent a two-headed dragon residing in the tree. A six-headed dragon of the same type is represented in another fragmentary Mohenjo-daro seal.[4] Two of the surviving heads on this seal are two-horned and one head is one-horned. Mr. K. N. Dikshit points out that a terracotta tablet from Mohenjo-daro bears clear evidence of tree worship. On either side of this tablet is impressed "a scene consisting of six or seven human figures standing above and a goat-drawn vehicle driven by a man below. These persons are probably approaching a tree in the right-hand corner, in the bifurcated branches of which is to be seen a human figure probably the presiding deity of the tree."[5]

Another element of the folk religion of the home of Buddhism is the cult of the free standing pillar crowned by animal figure (animal standard).

[1] *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1925-26, p. 91.
[2] *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1924-25, pp. 62 and 65, Plate XXII, fig. a.
[3] Cunningham, *Bharhut*, Plates XXIX, fig. 2 and XXX, fig. 3.
[4] *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1924-25, pp. 62 and 65, Plate XXII, fig. a.
[5] *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1924-25, p. 65, Plate X, fig. b (reproduced just above the terracotta bangle).

I have endeavoured to show elsewhere[1] that the Mauryan pillars crowned by single animal figures were primarily intended for worship. In a corner pillar of the Bharhut rail[2] a huge elephant with the driver holding a relic casket is carved on one side and on the contiguous side is carved a horseman carrying a Garuḍa standard. These two reliefs evidently represent a procession led by the bearer of the relic casket. Another corner pillar of the Bharhut rail with a female on horseback carrying a Garuḍa standard has recently been added to the Indian Museum.[3] In 1925-26 at Mohenjo-daro Mr. Hargreaves found a three-sided prism of faience which is thus described :—

"On the front face is a procession of four standard bearers, only their heads and shoulders visible. Two of the ensigns on the standards (the first and the last) are indistinct, but the second from the left is a bull, and recalls the ensigns of the 'Bull' nomes of Early Egypt—ensigns which went back to pre-dynastic times. The third standard is also reminiscent of the Lybian Ostrich feather."[4]

The third standard was evidently crowned by a bird and the bull on the second recalls the bull capital on the Mauryan pillar of Rampurva now in the Indian Museum.[5] The temptation to connect the Mauryan and Śuṅga tree and pillar cults with the tree and pillar cults of the Chalcolithic period in the Indus Valley is irresistible. But the difficulty in the way of recognising religious continuity from the Chalcolithic to the Mauryan-Śuṅga period appears insurmountable. There is a gap of two millenniums or more for which material evidence is as yet lacking. But we have to set off against this absence of connecting links for so long a period the fundamental continuity that characterises the Indian culture. For the continuity of the higher Brahmanic elements we have the Ṛigveda on the one hand and the living Hinduism on the other. Those philologists who put Ṛigveda about 1200 or 1500 B.C. mainly rely on the relationship between the language of the Veda and the Avesta. But there are other philologists who hold that *linguistic* facts do not yield such positive results. In the opinion of some Vedic scholars *cultural* facts lead to a different conclusion. Professor Winternitz writes :—

"The surest evidence (*arising out of the history of Indian literature itself*) in this respect is still the fact that Pārśva, Mahāvīra and Buddha pre-suppose the entire Veda as a literature to all intents and purposes completed, and this is a limit which we must not exceed. We cannot, however, explain the development of the whole of this great literature, if we assume as late a date as round about 1200 or 1500 B.C. as its starting point. We shall probably have to date the beginning of this development about 2000 or 2500 B.C., and the end of it between 750 and 500 B.C."[6]

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1 *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 30, pp. 31-33.
2 Cunningham, *Bharhut*, Plate XII.
3 *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1925-26, Plate LVIII, fig. b ; Cunningham, *Bharhut*, Plate XXXII, fig. 6.
4 *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1925-26, p. 87 ; Plate XLV, fig. 22.
5 *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 30, Plate III, fig. a.
6 Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

Diversity of Indian castes based to some extent on diversity of cultures render it probable, almost certain on *a priori* grounds that the Indus religion of the Chalcolithic period survived the Aryan invasion and was merged in Buddhism and Hinduism that include so many non-Vedic elements.[1] One of these elements is the cult of the phallic symbol. *Śiśnadevāh*, 'those who have a phallus for their deity', are twice referred to in the Rigveda. In one stanza (vii. 21,5) "Indra is besought not to let the *śiśnadevāh* approach the sacrifice;" and in another (x. 99,3) Indra "is said to have slain the *śiśnadevāh*, when he won the treasure of hundred gated fort."[2] Sir John Marshall proposes to trace the cult of the phallic emblem of Śiva to the Chalcolithic period by recognising in the "chess-man" like objects and ring stones found at Mohenjo-daro *liṅgas* (phallic emblems) and *yonis* respectively.[3]

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[1] For non-Vedic elements in Vaishnavism and Śāktism see the author's *The Indo-Aryan Races*, Vol. I, Rajshahi, 1916, Chapters III and IV.

[2] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 155.

[3] *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1925-26, p. 79.

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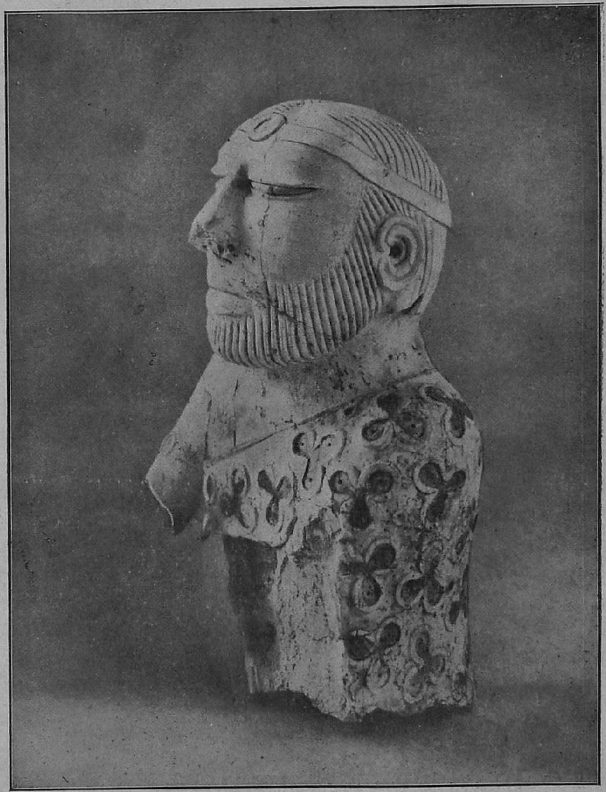
PLATE I.

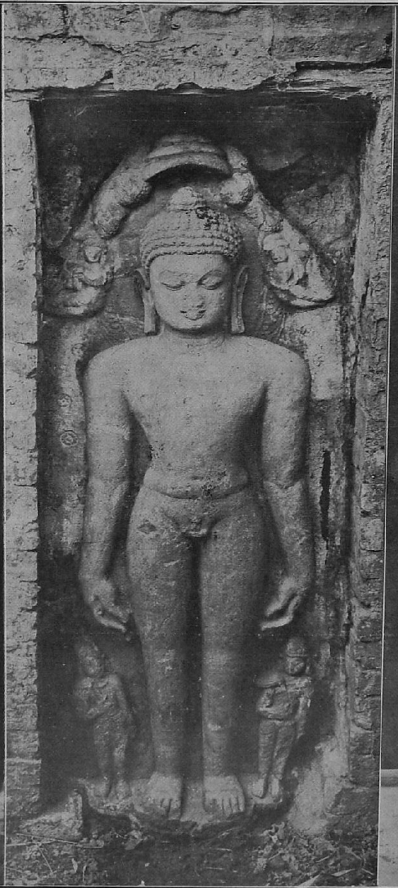
(*a*) Stone head from Mahenjodaro.



(*b*) Stone Statue finished in stucco and painted from Mahenjodaro.

PLATE II.

(a) Seated Jina in the Indian Museum. From Bankura District, Bengal. 11th century A.D.



(b) Standing Jina, Rajgir, Patna District, Bihar. 5th century A.D.

(c) Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi in the Indian Museum from Naltigiri, District Cuttack, Orissa. 8th century A.D.